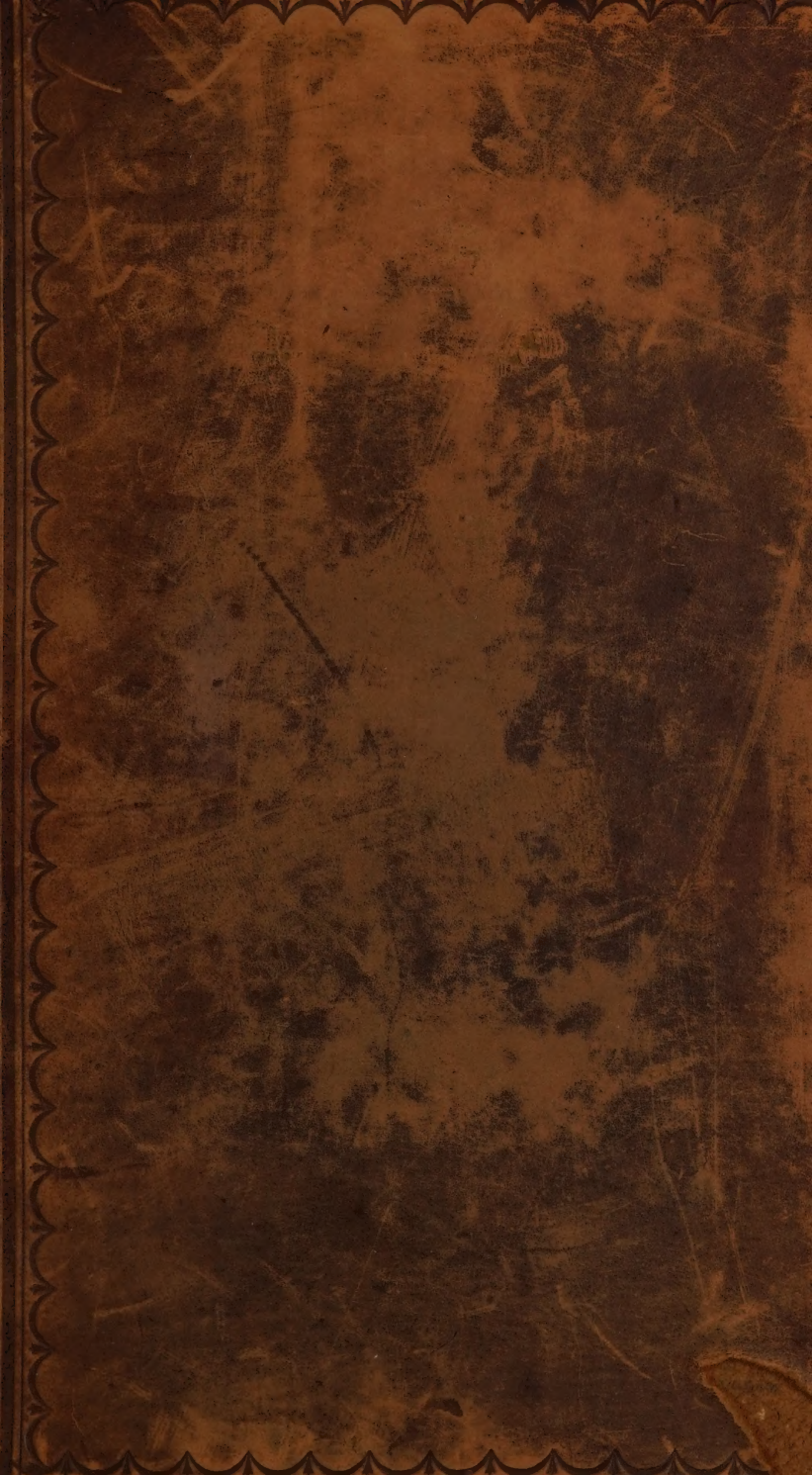
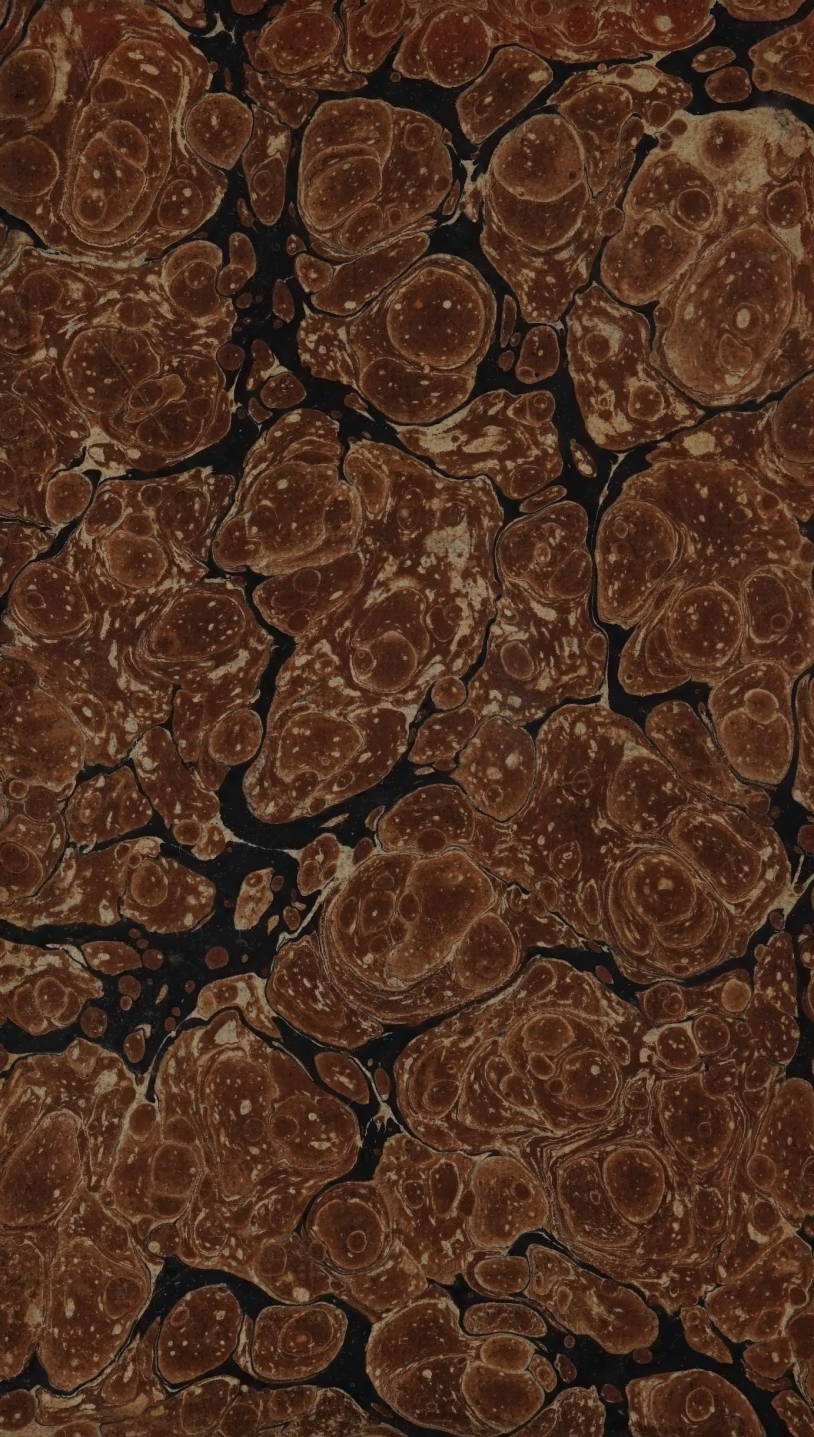
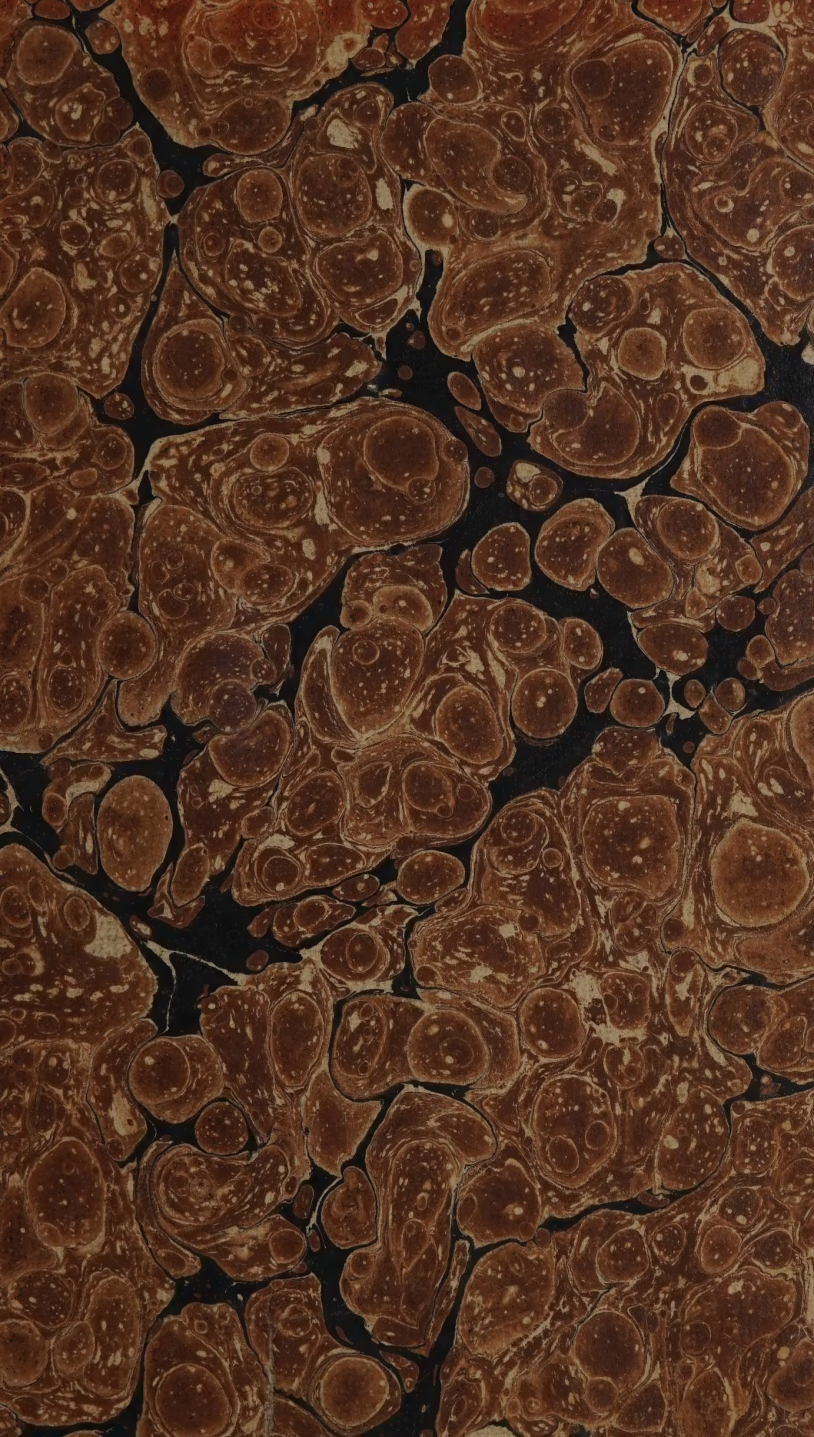








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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
SARACENS.

CONTAINING

The LIVES of *Abubeker, Omar, Othman, Ali, Hasan, Moawiyah I. Yezid I. Moawiyah II. Abdolla, Merwan I. and Abdolmelick*, the immediate Successors of MAHOMET.

Giving an Account of

Their most remarkable BATTLES, SIEGES, &c. particularly those of *Aleppo, Antioch, Damascus, Alexandria, and Jerusalem.*

ILLUSTRATING

The Religion, Rites, Customs, and Manner of Living of that Warlike People.

Collected from the most authentic Arabic Authors, especially MSS. not hitherto publish'd in any European Language.

By SIMON OCKLEY, B.D.

Vicar of *Swavesey* in *Cambridgeshire*, Professor of *Arabick* in the University of *Cambridge*, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. ROBERT Earl of OXFORD and Earl MORTIMER.

VOL. I.

THE THIRD EDITION.

CAMBRIDGE,

Printed for the sole Benefit of Mrs. ANNE OCKLEY,
by Permission of HENRY LINTOT, Esq;

M.DCC.LVII.

25417



TO
THE REVEREND
Dr. Henry Aldrich,
DEAN of *Christ-Church*
in Oxford,
AND
One of Her MAJESTY's
Chaplains in Ordinary.

SIR,

IT would have been a great Breach
of Good Manners and Gratitude in
me, not to have returned this little
Book to that Place to which it is chiefly
due; To *Oxford* I mean, to which we

a

owe

DEDICATION.

owe that Incomparable Archbishop *Laud*, whose inexhaustible Bounty has furnished the *Bodleian* Library with such a vast Plenty of the Best Oriental Authors, those particularly which I have here made use of in this slender Performance : To which we owe, besides a Multitude of Learned Men and Eminent Promoters of Eastern Learning, the Great Dr. *Pocock*, to whose Learned Labours how much we are indebted can never be too frequently repeated.

Since therefore upon these Accounts, I could do no less than send it to Your Famous University ; To whose Hands should I commit it rather than to Yours, Sir, whose Dignity, Learning, and extreme Courtesy to all, especially Strangers and Scholars, entitle you justly to the utmost Respect ?

DEDICATION.

I have the greater Reason to hope, Sir, that this Attempt of mine will not be unacceptable to you, from the Sense which you were pleased to express, when you honoured me with your Learned Conversation at *Oxford*, of the great Defect in the present Accounts of Oriental Affairs. I declare sincerely, that it grieves me to the Heart, to see the Intent of Noble Benefactors so disappointed: To see Men, otherwise Learned, contenting themselves with the most Trifling Legendary Accounts of things which deserve to be handled by the ablest Pens, and if they read *Paulus Venetus*, *Jacobus à Vitriaco*, *Postellus*, &c. think they have exhausted whatever is worth knowing of those Matters. What Pity it is, that we should content our selves with Jejune Accounts at second hand, and live upon Glean-

DEDICATION.

ings in the midst of a plentiful Harvest!

How would it rejoice me to see *Al-bochâri*, *Ebn Chalecân*, *Meidâni*, *Tabari*, *Mircond*, and other eminent Oriental Authors correctly published, and take their Places in the Studies of the Learned! It would be altogether impertinent in me to represent to a Person of your comprehensive Genius and Knowledge, what poor Accounts we have had hitherto of the *Circassian Mamalukes*, *Jenkîz Kaan*, *Hulâcu*, *Tamerlane*, nay even of the *Holy War* itself, in which the Europeans found to their Cost, that they were but too much concerned. And not to confine our selves to Mahometan Authors, what Satisfaction must it be to see the most Learned of the Eastern Jews (who have written in Arabick) published in a Language more
in-

DEDICATION.

intelligible to *Europeans*? What an inexpressible Delight would it afford to a Christian Divine to be thoroughly acquainted with the Eastern Liturgies, the whole Rites and Customs of the Eastern Christians, not only Orthodox, but *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, &c. as they are now in use? And how agreeable would it be to observe, that notwithstanding their Difference among themselves, they all concur unanimously against our Schismaticks?

Not to trouble you, Sir, with expatiating too tediously upon this Topick, I shall only crave leave to add, that I have presumed to present you with this little Book, as a Token of sincere Respect. I make no Apology to you, Sir, for the Imperfections of this poor Performance; knowing you to be a Person of such a generous Spirit, that in a

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thing

DEDICATION.

thing which is well intended, however unsuccessfully performed, your Sagacity cannot be so quick in discovering a Fault, but your Candour is more ready to excuse it.

I am,

SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

Swavesey,
August 16,
1708.

SIMON OCKLEY.

THE P R E F A C E.

THE ARABIANS, a People as little taken Notice of by the Greek and Roman Authors, as could well be supposed, considering their Nearness, and the Extent of their Country, have, since the time of Mahomet, rendered themselves so very considerable, both by their Arms and Learning, that the understanding their Affairs seems no less, if not more necessary than the being acquainted with the History of any People whatsoever, who have flourished since the Declension of the Roman Empire: Not only because they have had as great Men, and performed as considerable Actions, as any other Nation under Heaven; but, what is of more Concern to us Christians, because they were the first Ruin of the Eastern Church.

It might reasonably have been expected, that the Greeks, who bore the greatest share of that grievous Calamity, and whose Vices and Divisions, it is to be feared, brought it upon the Christian World, should have taken particular Care to have

P R E F A C E.

given a just Account of it. Whereas, on the contrary, they have been as jejune and sparing in this Particular, as any tolerable Historian could have been supposed, relating Matters at a much greater distance. Not to enumerate a Catalogue of their Defects, I shall content my self with producing the Words of an ^s ingenious Author, who was very well aware of the Imperfections of the Greeks with relation to this History, and fully expresses the true Sense of that Matter in these Words: This (says he) in Substance is the Account of those Wars, and the Beginning of the Saracenic Empire, left us by the Grecian Writers of that Age, who are justly to be accused for their Succinctness and Obscurity, in a Subject that deserved to be more copiously handled; for undoubtedly it must needs have been various as well as surprizing in its Circumstances, containing no less than the subduing whole Nations, altering antient Governments, and introducing a new Face of Affairs in the World. There is nothing more just than this Observation, and what lame Accounts must we then expect from those who compile Histories of the Saracens out of the Byzantine Historians?

^s Continuation of *Eachard's Roman History*, Vol. 2. p. 304. at the Year of our Lord 637.

I was no sooner convinced of this, but, having, by the Study of their Language, fitted my self in some Measure for the reading their Authors, I had a great Desire to attempt the communicating some Part of this hitherto unknown History to the World; being equally affected with Wonder and Concern, that, considering the Multitude of Learned Men which the last Age produced, it should have been so long neglected. But I conceive the Reason of that to have been, because those very few who were Masters of the Arabick Learning have been otherwise employed, and spent their Time in paving the way for Posterity, by publishing such Books as were absolutely Necessary in order to the attaining a Competent Skill in that Difficult Language: Others, who have not been sufficiently acquainted with that Nation, have entertained too mean an Opinion of them, looking upon them as meer Barbarians, which mistaken Notion of theirs, has hindered all further Enquiry concerning them.

As for those Great Men who first restored that learned, copious and elegant Language in this last Age to us Europeans; I mean Erpenius, Gigueius, Golius, Sionita, and our incomparable Dr. Pocock; it is not to be expressed how much we are indebted to them for their Learned Labours, without which the Arabick Tongue would still have been inaccessible to us. But since there
are

P R E F A C E.

are other Persons of a quite different Taste, who, for want of due Information, have conceived a wrong Opinion of the Arabians; it will not be amiss, before we give a particular Account of our present Undertaking, to speak something concerning that People.

Before Mahomet's time they were Idolaters. They were always a Warlike People, seldom being at Peace either with one another or their Neighbours. They were divided into two sorts; some of them living in Towns and Villages, others having no fixed, settled Habitations, lived in Tents, and removed from one part of the Country to another, according as their Necessities compelled, or Conveniencies invited them. Their chief Excellency consisted in Breeding and Managing Horses, and the Use of Bows, Swords and Lances: Their Learning lay wholly in their Poetry, to which their Genius did chiefly incline them. MAHOMET and his Successors soon rooted out Idolatry, and united those jarring Tribes in the Profession of that new Superstition, which he pretended to have received by Inspiration from God, delivered to him immediately by the Angel Gabriel.

For about Two Hundred Years, little else was minded but War, except what concerned the Interpretation of the Alcoran, and the Sects and Divisions among themselves upon that Account, which daily multiplied and increased upon them:

But

But there was, as yet, no Curiosity of enquiring into Foreign Learning, nor desire of being acquainted with the Arts and Sciences. At last, in Almamoun's Reign, who was the twenty seventh after Mahomet, and was inaugurated Caliph in the ⁴ One Hundredth and Eighth Year of the Hegirah, Learning began to be cultivated to a very great Degree, Mathematicks especially and Astronomy: And in order to promote it, that Noble Caliph spared no cost, either to procure such Greek Books as were serviceable to that Purpose, or to encourage Learned Men to the Study of them. Nor did the Sagacity and Application of that ingenious penetrating People in the least disappoint the Designs of their munificent Benefactor; their Progress in Learning, after they had once entered upon it, seeming no less wonderful than that of their Conquests; for in a few Years time they had Plenty of Translations out of Greek, not only Mathematicians and Astronomers, but Philosophers, Botanists and Physicians. Which Love of Learning was not confined to the Eastern Parts, but diffused throughout the whole Dominions of the Saracens, being first carried into Africa, (where they erected a great many Universities) and from thence into Spain: so that when Learning was quite lost in these Western Parts, it was restored by the Moors, to whom what Philosophy was un-

⁴ A.D. 813.

derstood by the Christians was owing. Greek not being understood in this Part of the World till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, which was in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Four Hundred and Fifty Three. At which time several Learned Greeks escaping with their Libraries, and coming Westward, that Language was restored: Our former Philosophers and Schoolmen having contented themselves with Latin Translations, not only of Averroës, Alpharabius and Algazâli, and other Mahometan Authors, but also of Aristotle and other Philosophers, which Translations of Greek Authors were not made out of the Original Greek, but out of the Arabick Versions which were immediately translated from the Greek.

Had they, after having taken the Pains to learn the Greek Tongue, with equal Care applied themselves to the Historians, as they did to the Philosophers; and studied Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and such other Masters of correct Writing as that Language could have afforded them; we might have expected from them a Succession of Historians worthy to write those great Actions which have been performed among them. But they never turned their Thoughts that way, studying Greek only for the sake of the Sciences, and not valuing either that or any other Language in respect of their own. Which, though it must be granted,

granted, is extremely fine and copious, so as to afford Words sufficient to treat handsomely upon any Subject whatsoever, is not sufficient of it self, any more than any other Language, to make a Man an Author. There being a manifest Difference between Language and Stile, insomuch that a Man may write in the best Language in the World, and use the most proper and significant Words in that Language, and at the same time not be fit to be read. For besides Propriety of Expression, there must a Justness and Exaetness (not only with respect to the Choice of Materials, but to the Composition) shine through the whole, which is not to be attained without being well acquainted with such Authors as are excellent that way.

The great Esteem which I have for the Eastern Learning, makes me heartily wish that we had not too much Cause to complain of our Arabick Historians, as to this Particular; who for the aforesaid Reason have deprived us of a great deal of the Pleasure, and sometimes Profit, which we might otherwise have expected from the reading them; They not having regard to the due Qualifications of an Historian, but telling things after a careless manner, and stuffing their Works with a great many trifling Materials, at other times jingling upon Words, and to show the Copiousness of their Language, and Variety of Expression,
Spinning

Spinning out a slender Matter of Fact into a long Story. So that it is a Work of Difficulty to follow or compile these Authors, which nevertheless deserves very well to be undertaken, and will abundantly recompense the Pains, at least of the Reader.

For in these Authors is contained an Account of all the most remarkable Actions done in the East and other Parts far above One Thousand Years. During which space of Time Asia and Africa have been the Scene of as great Performances as ever they were in the Time of the Roman Empire, to which that of the Saracens was, in many respects, equal. And certainly it is a great deal of Pity, that we have not these things more enquired into, especially since they may be so easily come at. Were our Ignorance invincible, it would be excusable, but since so many Noble Benefactors have furnished us with such Variety of excellent Authors in this Kind, why should we starve ourselves in the midst of Plenty?

It were most heartily to be wished, that we had a Compleat History of the Affairs of the East, especially to the Fall of the Saracenic Empire. It would be very well worth observing, how Learning first came in, grew and increased among the Saracens; and what Great Men they have had among them; all which would be very well comprehended in a History of the Caliphs or Successors of

of Mahomet, of which I here present the Reader with a Specimen.

I ought indeed to have begun with the Life of Mahomet, but that is already written by the Reverend and Learned Dr. Prideaux, now Dean of Norwich ; in which Life, besides what does immediately concern Mahomet's Person, there are interspersed other things Necessary to be known (by any Person that is desirous to be acquainted with the History of the East) which I have not repeated in my Book, but supposed to be already known to the Reader : Proceeding to write the Lives of the three immediate Successors of Mahomet, in which the Reader will plainly see by what Steps, and from how small Beginnings, that once contemptible People rose to such a formidable Greatness.*

In order to prosecute my Design, after I had made such a Draught out of Elmakîn, Abu'l-pharagius and Eutychius, as the Scantness of my Materials would afford, I was obliged to go to the Bodleian Library, which is, without question, the best furnished with Oriental Manuscripts of any in Europe. For besides a great Number of the best Authors purchased by the University of Oxford, out of the Studies of Dr. Hyde, Dr. Hun-

* That Life being very imperfect, it was judg'd a proper Compliment to the Subscribers to this Edition of Mr. Ockley's History, to improve it with a new one.

tington, and Dr. Pocock, not to mention Mr. Samuel Clark's, Gravius's or Selden's, there is an invaluable Collection given by that incomparable Prelate and Martyr of Blessed Memory, Archbishop Laud; of whose great Virtues it would be superfluous to say any thing here, they being so well known and admired by all that know how to set a just Value upon Learning and Piety.

But his princely Munificence in being at that prodigious Expence to restore Oriental Learning in these Northern Climates, both by purchasing such an excellent Collection of Authors in that kind, and encouraging Men of Abilities to apply themselves that way, cannot, without the greatest Ingratitude, be passed by in Silence, by any one that has any due Regard to Oriental Learning. It was among the Manuscripts of that Reverend Prelate that I found the ^s best Copy of that Author, which I have here endeavour'd to make speak English, and of whom I am now going to give an Account.

His Name is Abu Abdo'llah Mohammed Ebn Omar Alwákidi. At what time he lived I have not yet found any Information, nor could I, by the diligent Reading of him, make any Observation by which I could give a probable Guess. Perhaps the

^s MSS. Laud. Num. A. 118.

publishing an Author without giving an Account of his Age, may seem to some Readers to require an Apology; but I would desire such to consider, that the Case is not the same in these Studies as it is in Greek and Latin: In which there is such Plenty of excellent Editions of most Authors easy to be come at; and such Numbers of Critics, Dictionaries, Chronologers and copious Indexes; that a Man (though no great Scholar) that does but know how to make use of a Book when he has it, may be almost sure of finding what he looks for. But, alas! the Case is vastly different here; we have but just as it were learned the Alphabet, and if we will know almost any thing further than the Rudiments of the Language, we must look for it in dusty Manuscripts, without Translation, without Index; destitute altogether of those Helps which facilitate other Studies.

However, though I cannot precisely fix his Age, it is most certain that he lived above two hundred Years after the Matter of Fact which he relates. For pag. 313. he mentions Almotássem the Caliph, whose Reign began in the Year of our Lord 833. and if so, 'tis the same thing as if he had lived six hundred Years after. For that Author that lives one thousand Years after any Matter of Fact, is as much a Witness of it, as he that lives but at two hundred Years Distance. They are both of them obliged to take upon trust, and if there be no

Loss of good Authors during that Interval, he that writes latest is as credible an Historian as the first.

Besides, the Particulars relating to the first rise of Kingdoms and Empires are generally obscure. The Reason of which is, because Arms take Place first, and a Government must be well established, before Learning can get room to breath in it. Wherefore in these Cases, it is allowed by all, that those Accounts which have been handed down from time to time, and received by the best Judges, ought to be looked upon as Authentick; nor was there ever any Person yet that enquired after the Age of Livy, in order to know how far he might be accounted a competent Relator of what was done in the Reigns of Romulus and Numa Pompilius.

In these Cases it is, as that excellent Author very well observes, Famæ rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem: When a long Interval of time has set things at too great a Distance, we must be content with the current Report, and rest satisfied with the best Account we can get. However, that Author consults his own Reputation, and his Readers Satisfaction most, who does not without Distinction set down every thing he meets with, but uses as much Caution as the Circumstances of the Matter will admit. Our Author Alwákidi has not been wanting in this Particular. Sometimes he ushers in a Story after this manner,

manner, I have been informed by a credible Person. *In another Place he says, " We are informed by Moses Ebn Afem, who had it from Jonas Ebn Abdo'llâb, who had it from his Grandfather Abdo'rrahmân Ebn Aslam Arrábii, who was in the Wars of Syria*. In that Place where he gives an Account of Derar and some others, who were put into Chests at Arreân, he says, " I was informed by Ahmed Almatîn Aljorbami, who had it from Raphâa Ebn Kais Alâmiri, who had it from Saiph Ebn Jabalah Alchâtgami, who had it from Thabet Ebn Alkamah, who said he was present at the Action. These Expressions, (not to insinuate that they may afford a Hint to guess at the Age of the Author) are most evident Proofs that he was as careful as he could, neither to be imposed upon himself, nor to deceive his Reader. And though there are a great many such like Expressions dispersed throughout his whole Work, yet I have not thought fit to intermix them in the History, because it is such a different way from what we are used to. However, I thought it necessary to give a Taste of it here for the Vindication of my Author. And certain it is, that such things as these, nay of less Consideration, were thought a good Defence of Herodotus against Plutarch's Objections, by no less a Person than the Learned Harry Stephens.*

* Pag. 214.

Alwákidi's Design was not to write the Life of any particular Caliph, but to give an Account of the Conquest of Syria. I should have been very glad if he had given me an Opportunity of comparing him with some noble Greek or Latin Historian, but his manner of Writing will not allow it. He is chiefly valuable for this, that we find Materials in him which we have no where else, and he is not so sparing of them, but there is Liberty enough to pick and chuse. How I have succeeded in this Performance I must submit to the Judgment of the Learned Reader; only taking the Liberty to say, that though I have not transcribed my Author in every Particular, yet I have done him no Injury in any thing that I have related; nor have I taken a Liberty of Writing carelessly, in hopes of being secure from Discovery (the Language not being generally understood) but have used the same Diligence as I would have done, were I sure that every one of my Readers would instantly have collated my Book with the Manuscripts.

The Archbishop's Copy which I chiefly used is 250 Years old; being written in the Year of the Hegirah 863. of our Lord 1458. There is another Copy of it among Dr. Pocock's MSS. D'Herbelot says there is one in the King of France his Library, which are all that I know of in Europe.

I have, as Occasion served, made such Use of other Authors that were for my purpose, as the Shortness of the Time I could allow my self at Oxford would permit. Alwákidi writ also a History of the Conquest of Ægypt, which I have not met with; otherwise my Account of that Matter might have been more compleat. All that I can say is, that I have done what I could; and if this small Beginning shall be a means to excite any Person of greater Abilities and more Opportunity, to bring to light any Part of the Eastern History, I shall have Reason to think my Time very well spent.

SIMON OCKLEY.

N. B. That in the Arabick Words, *j* Consonant and *ou* are pronounced as in *French*.

A Chronological Table for 35 Years.

<i>Years of the Julian Period.</i>	<i>Years of Christ, reckoning from the first day of January.</i>	<i>Years of the Hegira or Flight of Mahomet, with the days of the Month on which they begin in the Solar Year.</i>	<i>Grecian Emperors.</i>	<i>Saracenical Caliphs.</i>
5335	622	1. July 16	HERACLIUS. 13	
6	623	2. July 5	14	
7	624	3. Jun. 24	15	
8	625	4. Jun. 13	16	
9	626	5. Jun. 2	17	
5340	627	6. May 23	18	MAHOMET. 1
1	628	7. May 11	19	2
2	629	8. May 1	20	3
3	630	9. April 20	21	4
4	631	10. April 9	22	5
5345	632	11. March 29	23	ABUBEKER. 1
6	633	12. March 18	24	2
7	634	13. March 7	25	OMAR. 1
8	635	14. Feb. 25	26	2
9	636	15. Feb. 14	27	3
5350	637	16. Feb. 3	28	4
1	638	17. Jan. 23	29	5
2	639	18. Jan. 12	30	6
3	640	{ 19. Jan. 2 } { 20. Dec. 21 }	31	{ 7 8 }
4	641	21. Dec. 10	32	9
5355	642	22. Nov. 30	{ Constantine reigns 4 Months, Heracleonas 6, CONSTANS Son of Constantine. }	10
6	643	23. Nov. 19		OTHMAN. 1
7	644	24. Nov. 7		2
8	645	25. Oct. 28		3
9	646	26. Oct. 17		4
5360	647	27. Oct. 7	6	5
1	648	28. Sept. 25	7	6
2	649	29. Sept. 14	8	7
3	650	30. Sept. 4	9	8
4	651	31. Aug. 24	10	9
5365	652	32. Aug. 12	11	10
6	653	33. Aug. 2	12	11
7	654	34. July 22	13	12
8	655	35. July 11	14	ALI. 1

A Chronological Table for 35 Years.

Remarkable Actions or Accidents.

Y. H.

- 1 *Mahomet* overpowered at *Meccah*, flees to *Medinah*. This same Year
- 2 *Ali* marries *Phatemah*, *Mahomet*'s only Daughter. In the Second
- 3 Year of the *Hegirah* was the Battle of *Beder*.
- 4
- 5
- 6 *Mahomet* is inaugurated by his Followers, and made Supream in all Matters both
- 7 Sacred and Civil. The same Year there was a Truce made between the *Cora-*
- 8 *ssites* and *Mahomet*. In the 7th Year *Mahomet* takes *Chaibar*, where *Zeinab* a
- 9 Jewish Young Woman gave him the Poison of which he died.
- 10 The *Cora*ssites breaking the Truce, *Mahomet* goes against them with 10000 Men,
- 11 and takes *Meccah*.
- 12 *Maseilamah* pretends to Prophecy. *Mahomet* goes his last Pilgrimage to *Meccah*.
- 13 *Mahomet* dies at *Medinah*, and is buried in *Ayesha*'s House.
- 14
- 15 *DAMASCUS* taken.
- 16 *Baalbec* taken. *Basora* and *Cusa* are walled by *Omar*'s Command.
- 17 The great Battle at *Yermouk*.
- 18 *JERUSALEM* surrendered into the Hands of the *Saracens* by *So-*
- 19 *phronius*. The *Persians* are beaten.
- 20 *Antioch* taken.
- 21 *Abu Obeidab* dies of the Plague at *Emäus*. *Amrou Ebnö'l Aäs* invades *Aegypt*.
- 22 } *Ispahan* taken by the *Saracens*.
- 23
- 24
- 25
- 26
- 27
- 28
- 29
- 30 [the Hands of the *Saracens*.
- 31 *Yazdegerd*, the last of the *Persian* Kings is killed: All *Persia* falls into
- 32
- 33 About this time the *Saracens* began to complain of *Othman*, who to
- 34 appease them, put *Mahomet* Son of *Abubeker* into the Lieutenantancy
- 35 of *Aegypt*, instead of *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd*. *Othman* is killed, and *Ali* succeeds him.

A TABLE of the Months both in the Julian Solar, and the *Arabian* Lunar Year, with the Days collected.

	Roman Months.	Days of the Months.	Days collected	In Bissextile.	Arabian Months.	Days of the Months.	Days collected.
1	January,	31	31	31	Moharram,	30	30
2	February,	28	59	60	Saphar,	29	59
3	March,	31	90	91	Reb'iyah the First,	30	89
4	April,	30	120	121	Reb'iyah the Second,	29	118
5	May,	31	151	152	Jomâda the First,	30	148
6	June,	30	181	182	Jomâda the Second,	29	177
7	July,	31	212	213	Rejeb,	30	207
8	August,	31	243	244	Shaabân,	29	236
9	September,	30	273	274	Ramadân,	30	266
10	October,	31	304	305	Sjewâl,	29	295
11	November,	30	334	335	Du'lkaadah,	30	325
12	December,	31	365	366	Du'lhhegjah,	29	*354

* In that Year which is Intercalated (of which there are 11 in every 30, viz. 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29.) *Dulbagjah* has 30 Days.

The *Arabian* Year being Lunar, runs through the Solar Year, as the Reader may observe in the foregoing Chronological Table. See Dr. *Prideaux's* Life of *Mahomet*, p. 85.

THE LIFE of MAHOMET.

THOUGH our author had good reason to take but little notice of the actions of *Mahomet*, because the life of that impostor had, but a few years before, been published by the learned Dr. *Prideaux*; yet, as the present impression of the *Saracenic* history will probably fall into the hands of many persons who have not an opportunity of reading that excellent work, it is thought proper to premise a short account of the *Arabians*, the principal agents in the transactions hereafter related, of *Mahomet* and the progress of his arms which paved the way for the achievements of his successors, and of that false religion founded by him, which has since overspread so great a part of the earth. Those who are desirous to be more fully informed of these matters may, besides Dr. *Prideaux* and the authors quoted by him, have recourse to the books of later date mentioned in the margin^a.

The *Arabians*, who are also by the greek, and in imitation of them, by latin writers, called *Saracens*, are divided by their historians into three classes: 1. The primitive *Arabians* who inhabited *Arabia* immediately after the flood: of these nothing now remains but the names of their tribes, as *Adites*, *Thamudites*, &c. and some traditional

^a *Maraccii* prodromus, et refutatio Alcorani: *D'Herbelot* Bibliotheque Orientale: *Relandus* de religione Mohammedica; *Abulfeda* de vita & rebus gestis Mohammedis, cum versione et notis *Joannis Gagnier*: La vie de Mahomet par *Gagnier*: *Salé's* preliminary discourse and notes upon the Coran.

stories of their punishment for not hearkening to the prophets sent to reclaim them ; which stories how fabulous soever, have not only served to furnish the *Arabian* poets with subjects and allusions, but are mentioned in a serious manner by *Mahomet* in the *Alcoran*,^a in order to deter his followers from disbelieving his mission, and rejecting his doctrine. 2, The second class are the pure *Arabians*, descended from *Kaktan* or *Joctan* the son of *Heber* spoken of *Gen.* 10. 25. The *Arab* historians make *Joctan* the father of two sons, not mentioned in the bible, or mentioned under different names: one of them called *Yàarab* they say was the father of the *Arabs* who inhabited *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix* ; and the other son *Jorham*, settled in the province of *Hejaz* ; hither they tell us *Abraham*, upon *Sarah's* complaint, carried *Ismael*, who married *Ra'ala* the daughter of the twelfth king of the *Jorhamites* : by whom he had twelve sons. From these and their posterity intermarrying with the pure *Arabians* sprang the most *Arabes* or mixt *Arabians*, called *Ismaelites* and *Hagarens* : this does not agree with the scripture, which tells us, the mother of *Ismael* took him a wife out of the land of *Egypt*, *Gen.* 21. 21. But here I would have it once for all observed, that we shall often find the *Arab* writers give different accounts of persons and things from what we meet with in the sacred history : they had no ancient writings, their memorials of ancient times were delivered

^a *Coran* signifies a book, *Al* is the *Arabic* article *the* ; however, as the word *Alcoran* has been adopted long since into all the European languages as well as the English, I have retain'd it here.

down to them by tradition^b, they are besides much given to fable; no wonder then they deviate so from the truth: thus they tell monstrously absurd stories of *Adam* and *Eve*: they mention *Noah's* flood, but instead of eight, as the scripture informs us, pretend eighty persons were saved in the ark: they will have it that it was not *Isaac* but *Ismael* whom *Abram* was about to offer, &c. in general, though *Mahomet* professed great regard for the old and new Testament, he miserably corrupted the histories of them both, by fables; some of which are borrowed out of the Jewish *Talmud*, others from spurious authors, and some probably were forged in his own brain, or that of his assistants.

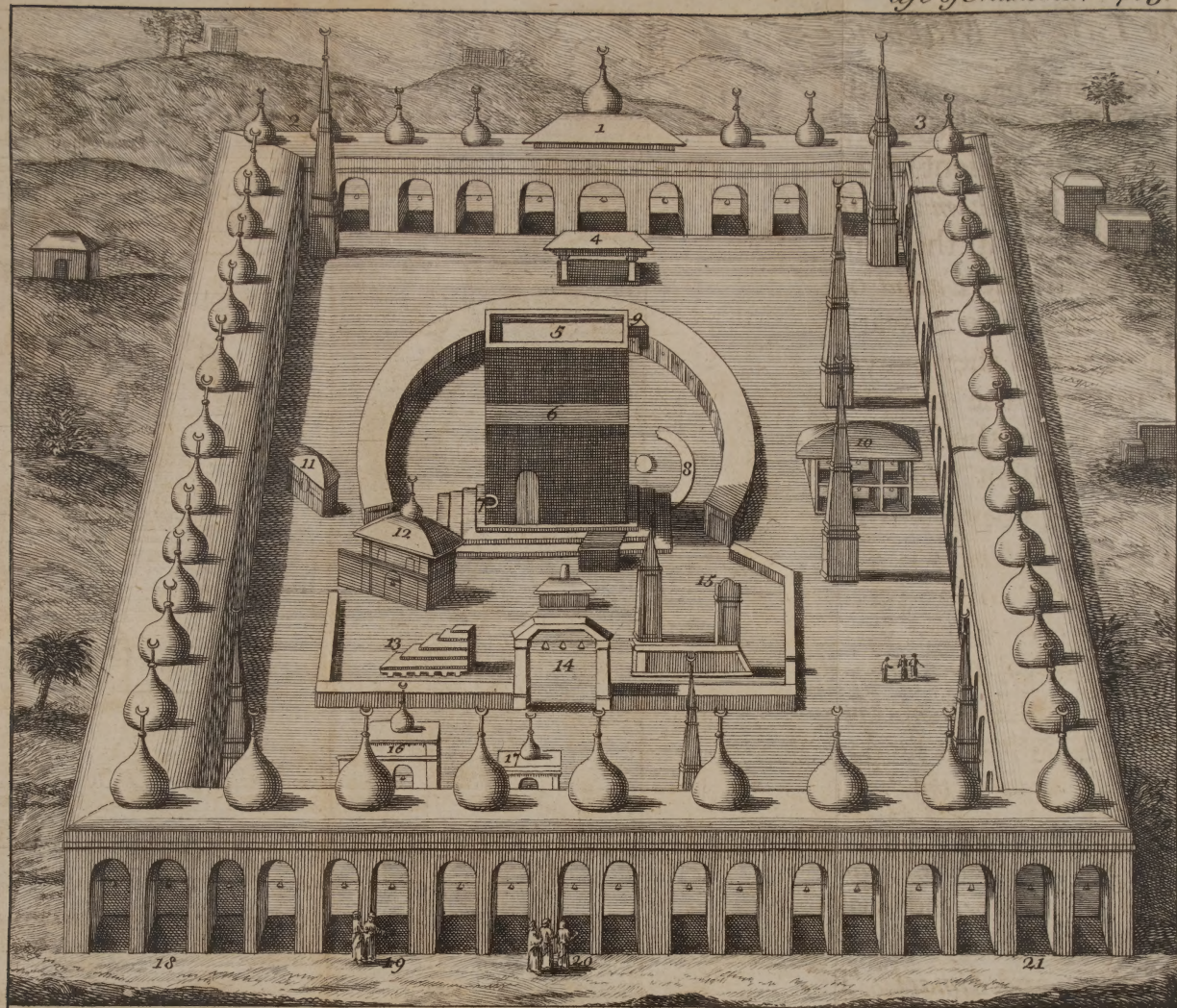
The *Arabs* are now, as they were in ancient times, of two sorts; some of them inhabit towns, maintaining themselves by their flocks, agriculture, the fruit of their palm-trees, by trade or merchandise; others live in tents, removing from place to place, as they find grass and water for their cattle, feeding chiefly upon the milk and flesh of camels, a diet which is said by an Arabian physician to dispose them to fierceness and cruelty^c: these latter, though strictly just among themselves, often commit robberies upon merchants and travellers; and excuse themselves by alledging the hard usage of their progenitor *Ismael*, and think they have a right to indemnify themselves, not only upon the posterity of *Isaac*, but also upon every body else who falls in their way: the *Arabs* were, before the time of *Mahomet*, divided into several tribes; each tribe had a king or head: they were often

^b *Pocock*, Specim. Arab. Histor. pag. 55. ^c *Idem*. p. 88.

at war with one another : a farther account of them may be seen in our author's preface.

The religion of the ancient *Arabians* their traditions derived from *Abraham* and *Ismael*: by them they pretended was built the temple of *Mecca*, from its form, called the *Caaba* or Square ; this was their *Kebla*, or place towards which they turned their faces when they prayed, as the *Jews* turned theirs towards the temple of *Jerusalem*. The *Caaba* was held by them in great veneration, as it is also by the present *Mahometans* : they are persuaded it is almost coeval with the world, for they say that when *Adam* was cast out of Paradise, which they place in the seventh heaven, he begged of God that he might erect upon earth a building like that he had seen the angels go round in heaven ; upon which a representation of that house in curtains of light was let down, and placed at *Mecca*, directly under the original, that he might go round it, and turn his face towards it when he prayed : that, after *Adams* death, *Seth* built the *Caaba* of stone and clay, in the same place ; which, being destroyed by the deluge, was rebuilt by *Abraham* and *Ismael*. The *Caaba* has been several times rebuilt or repaired ; it is a square stone building, the length whereof from north to south is 24 cubits, the breadth from east to west 23, and the height 27 cubits : the door is on the east side, the threshold is four cubits above the ground, so that, there being no steps^a adjoining to it, they who come to worship may touch the threshold

^a There are moveable steps to use when the *Caaba* is to be cleaned, or the lamps lighted up therein.



The CA'ABA, from a M.S. in the BODLEIAN LIBRARY in OXFORD, M.S. LAUD. D. N.º 150

- | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|--|
| 1. Middle Gate | 8. Abraham's Tomb | 15. The pulpit |
| 2. Gate of the Sacrifices | 9. The Golden spout | 16. The place where y golden Cup is kept |
| 3. Gate of Visitation | 10. Shafeites Station | 17. The Treasury |
| 4. Station of Malekites | 11. Hanbalites Station | 18. The Gate of Ali |
| 5. The Ca'abah | 12. The Well Zemzem | 19. Gate of M Abbas |
| 6. The border of Gold | 13. The Steps | 20. Gate of the Prophet |
| 7. The black stone | 14. Abraham's Station | 21. Gate of peace |

with their foreheads, or kiss it : *the Black Stone* is a small stone set in Silver and fixt in the south-east corner of the *Caaba*, about four feet from the ground ; the *Mahometans* hold it in great reverence, believing it to be one of the stones of Paradise, which fell down with *Adam* from heaven ; it is said to be white within, but to have been turned black on the outside by the sins of the people, more probably by the kisses of the pilgrims. Upon the ground on the north-side of the *Caaba* there is a stone called *the sepulchre of Ismael* ; there is another stone called *the station of Abraham*, which they say was made use of by him for a scaffold, and rose higher with him as the walls of the building rose ; and that, after he had done building, he stood upon it and prayed, and left the prints of his feet thereon. The *Caaba* is surrounded, though not entirely, at a little distance, by an inclosure of pillars, joined at the bottom by a low balustrade, and towards the top by bars of silver ; just without this inclosure, are buildings made use of for oratories, by different sects of *Mahometans*, there is also *the Treasury*, and a small edifice over the sacred well *Zemzem*. All these buildings are, at a considerable distance, inclosed in a magnificent colonade covered with small cupolas, and at the four corners there are as many steeples adorned with gilded spires and crescents ; as are also the cupolas ; between the pillars of both inclosures hang a great number of lamps, which are constantly lighted up at night. ^a

^a The print of the *Caaba* is from *Gagnier*, *Sale* has one a little different, but does not say from whom he took it.

The *Caaba* is supported by pillars of aloes wood, between which hang silver lamps: the rain water runs off the roof in a spout of gold, the walls on the outside are covered with a rich black damask adorned with a band of gold, this covering is changed every year, at the expence of the Turkish emperor; this is properly the temple, but the whole territory of *Mecca* is held sacred, and distinguished by small turrets, some at seven and others at ten miles distance from the city: within these precincts it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl.

Mahomet, or as his name is pronounced in Arabic *Mohammed*, was born at *Mecca* an ancient city of *Arabia*, about the year of our Lord 571, for historians do not agree about the precise year: he was of the tribe of *Coreish*, the noblest of that part of the country: the *Arab* writers make him descended in a right line from *Ismael* the son of *Abraham*; but do not pretend to any certainty in the remote part of his genealogy: it is enough for our present purpose to say that the presidency over the *Caaba*, and what went with it the government of *Mecca*, which had been some time in the tribe of the *Coreishites*, came to *Hassem* the great grandfather of *Mahomet*, whose descendants were from him called *Hassemites*; after his death it went to his son *Abdo'l Motalleb*, who had thirteen Sons, I shall here set down their names, because we shall meet with some of them in the following history. *Abdolla*, *Hamza*, *Al Abbas*, *Abu Taleb*, *Abu Labeb*, *Al Gidak*, *Al Hareth*, *Jabel*, *Al Mokawam*, *Dorar*, *Al Zobeir*, *Kelham*, *Abdol Caaba*. The eldest of them *Abdolla* is said to have been

been his father's favourite, upon account of the integrity of his behaviour, and the comeliness of his person, he married *Emina*, of the tribe also of the *Coreishites*, by whom he had *Mahomet*: upon his marriage, no fewer than two hundred young damsels who were in love with him are said to have died in despair. It should be observed here that the *Mahometan* historians are often very extravagant in their accounts of persons and things that have any relation to their false prophet: *Abu'l Feda* one of the gravest of them tells us of four miraculous events that happened at his birth: 1, That the palace of *Cosroes* king of *Persia* was so shaken, that fourteen of the towers thereof fell to the ground. 2, That the sacred fire of the *Persians* which had been kept incessantly burning for 1000 years went out all at once. 3, That the lake *Sawa* sunk. 4, That the river *Tigris* overflowed its banks: and that *Cosroes*, alarmed by these prodigies and by a dream of the high priest of *Persia*, which seemed to forebode some calamity would be brought upon them by *Arabia*; sent for a famous diviner to enquire what these prodigies portended: the answer was, that fourteen kings and queens should reign in *Persia*, and that then what was to come to pass would happen. Some legendary writers on this occasion relate a great many more wonderful things, enough to shock the belief of the most credulous; they may be seen in *Maracci*, I shall give only two of them as a sample of the rest. 1, That *Mahomet* came into the world surrounded with a light which not only illuminated the chamber wherein he lay, but the whole country also round about. 2, That as soon

as he was born he fell upon his knees, and bending all except his two fore-fingers, lifted up his hands, and turned his face towards heaven, and pronounced distinctly these words, *Allah acbar &c.* that is, *God is great: there is no other God but one, and I am his Prophet.*

Abdolla dying while *Mahomet* was an infant, or according to some, before he was born, he was by his mother put to a wet nurse named *Halima*; here again we have more miracles even in *Abu'l Feda*. His nurse, while this blessed infant was with her, was in greater affluence than ever she had been before, but was one day put in a great fright by her son, who came running out of the field, and told her two men in white had just then taken hold of *Mahomet*, laid him on the ground, and ripped open his belly; upon this, she and her husband went out to him, and found him upon his legs, and asked, what is the matter with you, child? he confirmed the tale of his belly being cut up. Hearing this, the husband of *Halima* said, I am afraid he has contracted some bad disease: and *Halima* who had before shewn herself very desirous to keep the child with her, was now as eager to get rid of him, and carried him home to *Emina*; and being asked what was the reason she had thus changed her mind, said she was afraid the devil had made some attack upon him; out upon you replied the mother, what has the devil to do to hurt my child? some authors tell us, that when the angels ripped up *Mahomet's* belly at this time they took out his heart, and squeezed out of it the black drop, which they believe is the consequence of original sin, and the source of all sinful thoughts,
and

and is to be found in the heart of every person descended from *Adam*, except only the *Virgin Mary* and her son *Jesus*. It is a wonder they did not except *Mahomet* also, whom they look upon to be the most perfect creature that God ever made ; but we shall find in the sequel his heart was not entirely cleansed from the black drop.

When *Mahomet* was six years old, his mother dying, his grand-father *Abdo'l Motaleb* took him into his care, and at his death, which happened two years after, left him in the tuition of his son *Abu Taleb*, whose business was merchandise ; by him he was brought up, and at the age of thirteen went with him into *Syria* : at fourteen years of age, he was with his uncle's kindred in the impious war,^a where the *Coreishites* had the victory ; he continued with *Abu Taleb* till twenty five, and then went to be a factor to *Cadigha* the widow of a rich merchant at *Mecca*, who had left her all his wealth : he managed her affairs so well, and insinuated himself so into her favour, that after three years being in her service, she gave herself to him in marriage ; and here the legendary writers tell us *Cadigha* fell in love with *Mahomet* upon account of the wonderful things that befel him in his last journey from *Bosra* in *Syria*, some of which were related by the slaves, she sent with him, and some she saw herself ; particularly, that the angel *Gabriel* carried all the way a cloud over his head, to screen him from the heat of the sun, in that country very scorching : but sure-

^a The *Arabs* had four months in which it was not lawful to go to war, this war was in one of those months.

ly there was no need of a miracle to persuade a widow of forty-five, that had buried two husbands to take for a third a young man of twenty-eight, handsome and agreeable, as *Mahomet* is said to have been.

From the age of thirteen or fourteen to twenty-five, there is very little said of *Mahomet*, except a fabulous story of his being seen when very young at *Bostra* in *Syria* by a monk called *Babira*, who foretold his future grandeur. But *Boulainvilliers*, who left an unfinished account of his life, has thought fit to fill up that chasm with inventions of his own; he tells us his uncle *Abu Taleb*, during that time, prepared him for the wars he was afterwards to be engaged in, by inuring him to hunting and martial exercises: contrary to all history, he makes him travel into *Syria* at the age of twenty, and not before: he carries him to *Damascus*, to *Balbec*, to *Elia* or *Jerusalem*, and to the capital of *Persia*, places at which no writer mentions him ever to have been; and he pretends to have taken these accounts from *Arabian* authors, but does not name any one: in short, *Boulainvilliers*^a, instead of history, has given the world a kind of politico-theological romance founded upon the life of *Mahomet*, whom he supposes, in these imaginary voyages, to have made such observations, and to have furnished his mind with such political ideas as enabled him to form those great designs he afterwards put in execution.

^a *Gagnier* says he could find no historians that verify the account given by *Boulainvilliers*; and exposes the bad design he seems to have had in view, in the encomiums he lavishes on the impostor and his false religion. *Pref. au vie de Mahomed.*

Where-

Whereas the truth of the case seems to be this; by the advantageous match with *Cadigba*, he found himself raised to an equality with the principal men of the city; and this might naturally put him upon aiming at the government of it, which had been in his family, and in a regular succession, would have come to him; for it fell to his uncle *Abu Taleb*, by his father and grand-father, both dying while he was a minor. From his marriage to near the time of his pretended revelation, all we hear of him is, that by *Cadigba* he had four sons, the eldest was named *Casem*, upon whose birth according to the custom of the *Arabians*, he took the surname *Abu'l Casem*, *i. e.* the father of *Casem*: his sons all died in their infancy; his daughters were *Fatema*, *Zainab*, *Rokaia*, and *Omm Colthum*, they were all married, and will be mentioned hereafter, as there shall be occasion.

It is probable he employed himself for some years in the care of his family, and carrying on his trade; conforming all the while to the idolatrous superstition of his countrymen: by the christian writers he is said to have been profligate in his morals, (it cannot be expected any Mahometan author should tell us any such thing) however that be, in the 38th year of his life he began to affect solitude, retiring frequently into a cave of mount *Hara* near *Mecca*, to spend his time in fasting, prayer, and meditation; and is here supposed to have cooked up so much of the *Alcoran* as he first published. It is agreed on all hands *Mahomet* could neither write nor read; it is evident he borrowed many things from the old and new Testament, and from the Jewish *Talmud*: his assistants are said to have been *Abdia* son of *Salem* a Persian Jew,

Jew, and a Nestorian monk named *Babira* by the eastern, *Sergius* by the western writers. By what here follows out of *Abu'l Feda*, it seems probable *Waraka* was also in the secret, if he did not lend an helping hand: the impostor complains in his *Alcoran*, chap. 16, that his enemies charged him with being assisted by that *Persian Jew*, and endeavours to clear himself in these words: *they say, certainly some man teaches him: he whom they mean speaks a barbarous language; but the Alcoran is in the Arabic tongue, full of instruction and eloquence.*^a As for the monk, he is said to have murdered him, when he had no further occasion for him. No doubt he took what care he could to conceal his being assisted.

Abu'l Feda after relating his marriage with *Cadigba*, has a digression, wherein he speaks of the prefecture of the *Caaba* going from *Nabet* the son of *Ismael* to the *Jorhamites*, next to the *Cozaites*, and from them to the *Coreishites*; and says these last mentioned, having pulled down the temple, and begun to rebuild it, when the walls were got up to the height at which the black stone was to be set, could not agree which of the tribes should have the honour of placing it: and that *Mahomet* being by, ordered them to spread a garment upon the ground, lay the stone in the middle of it, and each tribe take hold round the edges and lift it up; which when they had done to the proper height, the prophet took the stone and put it into its place. By the manner of relating this transaction, the time of it is not any way fixed to this part of his life; an Arab writer cited by *Gagnier* says it was when *Mahomet* was a little boy. It is probably only

^a *Alcoran*, ch. 16.

a fiction invented to raise an high opinion of his wisdom.

The following account is verbatim from *Abu'l-Feda*. 'When the apostle of God, whom God bleſs,^a was forty years old, God ſent him to the black and the red; (*i.e. to all mankind*) that by a new law, he might aboliſh the ancient laws. His firſt entrance into this prophetic office was by a true night viſion; for the moſt high God had inſpired him with a love of retirement and ſolitude, ſo that he ſpent a month every year in the cave of mount *Hara*. When the year of his miſſion was come, in the month *Ramadan* he went to his cave with ſome of his family: and when the night came wherein the glorious God very greatly honoured him, *Gabriel*, upon whom be peace, came to him and ſaid *read*: he answered *I cannot read*: he ſaid again *read, in the name of the Lord who hath created, &c.* reciting the words as far as, *he taught man what he knew not, v. 5.*^b

^a In the *Alcoran* the followers of the impoſtor are forbidden when they addreſs him to call him by his name *Mahomet*, this was too familiar, they are therefore commanded to ſay, O prophet, or O Apoſtle of God. This author never mentions the Apoſtle of God without adding theſe words, *whom God bleſs*, or the initial letters of thoſe words w. G. b. in general the *Mahometan* writers very ſeldom name an Angel, or any perſon whom they think a prophet, or eminent for piety, without adding *peace be to him*. ^b This is generally believed to be the firſt paſſage of the *Alcoran* revealed to *Mahomet*, though it be the beginning of the 96th chap. of that book. It runs thus, as divided into verſes in *Maracci's* edition. 1. *Read in the name of the Lord, who hath created.* 2. *He hath created man of coagulated blood.* 3. *Read by thy moſt beneficent Lord.* 4. *Who taught by the pen.* 5. *Who taught man what he did not know.* The reſt of the chapter has no connection with the beginning, but is taken up in upbraiding and threatning one of his enemies, ſuppoſ'd to be *Abu jekel*.

' then

‘ then the prophet w. G. b. went to the middle of
 ‘ the mountain and heard a voice from heaven say-
 ‘ ing, O *Mahomet* thou art the apostle of God and
 ‘ I am *Gabriel*, and stood still in his place looking
 ‘ upon *Gabriel*, till at length *Gabriel* departed, and
 ‘ then the prophet w. G. b. went away. Soon after
 ‘ he came to *Cadigha*, and told her what he had
 ‘ seen, she said I am very glad of this good news :
 ‘ I swear by him in whose hand the soul of *Cadigha*
 ‘ is, I verily hope you are the prophet of this na-
 ‘ tion : and when she had said this she went to her
 ‘ kinsman *Waraka* son of *Nawfali* : Now *Waraka*
 ‘ had read the books and heard many discourses of
 ‘ Jews and Christians, to him *Cadigha* related
 ‘ what the apostle of God w. G. b. had said : *Wa-*
 ‘ *raka* replied by the most holy God and by him in
 ‘ whose hand is the soul of *Waraka*, what you say
 ‘ is true, *Cadigha*, for the glorious law brought by
 ‘ *Moses* the son of *Amran* foretold his coming. No
 ‘ doubt he is the prophet of this nation. Then *Ca-*
 ‘ *digha* returned to the apostle of God w. G. b. and
 ‘ told him what *Waraka* said, then the Apostle of
 ‘ God w. G. b. said a prayer, and went and com-
 ‘ passed the *Caaba* seven times, and then went to
 ‘ his own house.

‘ After this, frequent revelations followed one
 ‘ after another. *Cadigha* was the first of mortals
 ‘ that embraced *Islam* so that no body preceded
 ‘ her. In the book called *al Sahib* there is a tradi-
 ‘ tion that the apostle of God w. G. b. said, a-
 ‘ among men there are many perfect ; but among

‘ *Mahomet* called his religion *Islam*, the word is by *Prideaux*
 said to signify the *saving religion* : by *Sale*, resigning oneself to
 God : by *Pocock*, obedience to God and his prophet.

women

‘ women there have been but four ; *Asia* the wife
‘ of *Pharaoh*, *Mary* daughter of *Amran*, *Cadigba*
‘ daughter of *Cowalled*, and *Fatema* daughter of
‘ *Mohammed*.

We have seen that *Cadigba* was the first disciple of *Mahomet*, though some authors say she did not come in so readily as is here related, but for some time rejected the stories he told her as delusions of the devil ; others say she declared she would not believe except she also should see *Gabriel* ; but upon his saying she had not vertue enough to see an angel, she was satisfied, and became a believer. His second convert was his cousin *Ali*, who had lived with him some time, and was then not above ten or eleven years old : his third was his slave *Zaid*, to whom he gave his freedom ; from whence it became a law among the Mahometans to make their slaves free, whenever they turn to their religion : the fourth convert was *Abubeker* one of the most considerable men in *Mecca*, his example was soon followed by *Othman* son of *Affan* *Abdol Rahman* son of *Aws*, *Saad* son of *Abu Wakas*, *Zobeir* son of *Al Awam*, and *Telba* son of *Obeidolla*, and *Abu Obeida*. These were some of the principal men of the city, and were afterwards the generals of his army, and assisted him in establishing his imposture and his empire together in those parts of the world. *Abu'l Feda* says, ‘ *Mahomet*
‘ made his converts in secret, for 3 years ; after
‘ which he was commanded to preach to those of
‘ his tribe ; whereupon he ordered *Ali* to invite his
‘ kinsmen, about 40 in number, to an entertain-
‘ ment, and to set before them a lamb and a large
‘ vessel of milk. And when they had done eating
‘ and

‘ and drinking, he was beginning to preach, but
 ‘ being interrupted by *Abu Labeb*, invited them
 ‘ to a like feast the next day, and when it was over,
 ‘ he harangued them in these words. I do not
 ‘ know any man in Arabia who can make you a
 ‘ better present than I now bring you, I offer
 ‘ you the good of this world, and of the other life;
 ‘ the great God has commanded me to call you to
 ‘ him: who then will be my *vizir*, (*i. e.* take part
 ‘ of the burthen with me) my brother my deputy?
 ‘ when all were silent, *Ali* said I will; and I will beat
 ‘ out the teeth, pull out the eyes, rip up the bel-
 ‘ lies and break the legs of *all that oppose you*, I will
 ‘ be your *vizir* over them. Then the apostle of
 ‘ God w. G. b. embracing *Ali* about the neck said,
 ‘ this is my brother, my ambassador, my deputy,
 ‘ pay him obedience: at this they all fell a laugh-
 ‘ ing, and said to *Abu Taleb*, you are now to be
 ‘ obedient to your son.

‘ *Mahomet*, not at all discouraged by the op-
 ‘ position of his tribe, continued to upbraid them
 ‘ with their idolatry, and the perverseness and infi-
 ‘ delity of their ancestors and of their nation: this
 ‘ provoked them to that degree that they came to
 ‘ *Abu Taleb* to complain of his nephew, and de-
 ‘ fired him to interpose; he gave them a civil
 ‘ answer, but *Mahomet* persisting in his purpose,
 ‘ they came a second time, and threatned to use
 ‘ force. *Abu Taleb* said to him, nephew, thus and
 ‘ thus have your countrymen spoken to me, he,
 ‘ imagining his uncle to be against him, replied,
 ‘ uncle, if they could set the sun against me on my
 ‘ right hand, and the moon on my left, I would
 ‘ never drop the affair. Well, says *Abu Taleb*, tell
 ‘ me

‘ me what answer I shall give them: as for me I
 ‘ will never give you up: and swore to it. Then
 ‘ the whole tribe consulted about banishing all who
 ‘ embraced *Islam*: but *Abu Taleb* protected his
 ‘ nephew, though he did not come into his new
 ‘ religion.’ After this, *Hamza* another of his un-
 cles, resenting an affront that *Abu Jabel* had of-
 fered to *Mahomet*, to whom he was a most bitter
 enemy, became one of his profelytes; as did also
Omar the son of *Al Ketabi*, another of the princi-
 pal men of *Mecca*, who afterwards succeeded *A-*
bubeker in the government: *Omar* was violently
 set against the prophet, had girded on a sword, and
 was going in search of him with an intent to kill
 him: by the way, he called in at his own sisters,
 where the twentieth chapter of the *Alcoran* was
 reading; *Omar* demanded to see the book, and
 upon his sister’s refusal, gave her a violent slap on the
 face, then she gave it him into his hand, upon his
 promise to restore it to her again; when he had
 read in it, he cryed out, *O how fine is this! how I*
reverence it! I have a great desire to be a believer:
 then asked where *Mahomet* was, and, being told,
 went to the apostle, who took hold of his cloaths
 and pulled him forcibly to him, and said, O son of
Al Ketabi; what do you stop at? why would you
 stay till the roof of the house falls upon your head?
Omar replied, I come hither that I may believe
 in God and his apostle: then the apostle prais-
 ed God: thus the conversion of *Omar* was com-
 pleted.

And now, finding he made such progress, the
Coreishites so persecuted the followers of *Mahomet*,
 that he gave leave to as many of them as had no
 family

family to hinder it to leave *Mecca*, which they did, to the number of 83 men and 18 women, with their little ones; and fled to the king of *Ethiopia*: the *Coreishites* sent two persons with a present of skins to the king, and desired him to send the fugitives back, which he refused to do; and, as the *Mahometan* writers say, embraced *Islam* himself. In the eighth year of *Mahomet's* mission, the *Coreishites* entered into a written agreement, that none of them would intermarry with the *Hashemites*, or have any dealings with them: and put the deed into the *Caaba*, where, it is said, a worm eat out every word of the deed, except the name of God: and that they had a public meeting thereupon, and made void the agreement.

‘ In the tenth year of the mission of the prophet, dyed *Abu Taleb*; when he grew very ill, the apostle of God w. G. b. said to him, uncle, make the profession which will entitle you to happiness at the day of the resurrection: *Abu Taleb* answered, so I would nephew, if it were not for the disgrace; for if I should do so, the *Coreishites* would say I did it for fear of death. In his last moments he began to move his lips, and *Al Abbas*, putting his ear close to them, said O nephew, he repeated the words that you exhorted him to say: then the apostle of God w. G. b. said, praised be God who has so directed you, dear uncle.’

Very soon after, dyed *Cadigba* also: whereupon, *Mahomet*, meeting with more and more opposition at *Mecca*, where *Abu Sophyan* his mortal enemy now bore the greatest sway, took a journey to *Taif*, a town about sixty miles east of *Mecca*, wherein

wherein *Al Abbas* another of his uncles often resided, to try if he could make any converts there; but, having no success, returned to *Mecca*, where his followers were greatly mortified by the repulse he had met with.

Mahomet continued his preaching, even at the hazard of his life, says *Abu'l Feda*; getting sometimes among the pilgrims, and calling to them, O ye of such a tribe (which he named) I am the apostle of God who commands you to serve God, and not to associate any other with him; and to believe and testify that I am a true *Apostle*. One time he was at a place called *Alkaba*, a mountain north of *Mecca*, where there were some pilgrims from *Yathreb*, he addressed himself to them, and made converts of six; who returning to *Yathreb* spread his fame there, and propagated *Islam* with great success.

The chief points of religion which *Mahomet* at first insisted upon were, besides some moral duties, the unity of God, a resurrection, and a future state of rewards and punishments: the profession necessary to be made in order to be one of his disciples consisted only of these two articles, *there is no God but one*, and *Mahomet is his apostle*. The first of these is in opposition, not only to all who worship idols, or own a plurality of gods, but against the christians also, who hold the divinity of our blessed Saviour, and the doctrine of the Trinity: the belief of the second article, was the most effectual means he could take to prevail on his followers, to swallow every thing, how absurd soever, that he should propose to be believed, or practised by them. He declared that *Islam* was

not a new religion, but a restoration of the ancient religion, taught and practised by the prophets, *Adam, Abraham, Moses, David* and *Jesus*, to its original purity. He did indeed purge the religion of the *Arabians*, which in his time was rank idolatry, from some gross abuses; as *Sabiism*, or the worship of the host of heaven, the worship of idols, and divination: but in order to make his new system be the more easily received by his countrymen, he retained several of their old superstitious observances, such as frequent washing; the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, with the absurd ceremonies appendant to it, of going seven times round the *Caaba*, throwing stones to drive away the devil, &c.

The few things he proposed to their profession and belief certainly made it more easy for him to gain proselytes; the paradise he promised them was indeed very gross and sensual, as we shall see hereafter, but very well suited to the taste of the people he had to deal with: the hell he threatened to unbelievers was terrible; and he may be supposed to have dwelt much upon that subject, as it is so frequently repeated in the *Alcoran*. By his artful insinuating address, in which he is said to have exceeded all men living, he surmounted all difficulties that lay in his way. At his first setting out upon his prophetic office, he bore all affronts without seeming to resent them, and when any of his followers were injured he recommended patience to them; and, it is said, for that purpose, proposed the christian martyrs to their imitation. He was obliging to every body: the rich he flattered; the poor he relieved with alms: and by his behaviour appeared the most humane friendly person in the

the world, so long as he found it necessary to wear them ask, which we shall hereafter find him, upon some occasions, pull off and throw aside.

In the tenth year of his mission, *Mahomet* gave his daughter *Fatema*, then nine years old, to *Ali* in marriage: the dowry given by *Ali* upon that occasion was twelve ounces of ostrich plumes, a thing of some value in that country, and a breast-plate; all indeed that he had to give ^a: the same year, according to *Elmakin*, for authors vary as to the precise year of many of his most considerable transactions, *Mahomet*, to strengthen his interest, as well as perhaps to gratify his inclination, married *Ayesha* daughter of *Abubeker*, *Sawda* daughter of *Zama*, and, some time after, *Haphsa* daughter of *Omar*: *Ayesha* was then but seven years old, and therefore he did not consummate his marriage with her till two years after, when she was nine years old, at which age, we are told, women are ripe for marriage in that country. An *Arabian* author cited by *Maracci* ^b, says that *Abubeker* was very averse to the giving him his daughter so young, but that *Mahomet* pretended a divine command for it: whereupon, he sent her to him with a basket of dates: and when the girl was alone with him, he stretched out his blessed hand, (*they are the author's words*) and took hold of her cloaths, and laid her down; upon which she looked fiercely at him, and said, people call you the faithful man ^c, but your behaviour to me shews

^a It seems to have been a custom among the *Arabs* for the bridegroom to make a present to the father of the bride.

^b *Marac. vita Mahometis*, p. 23. ^c *Abu'l Feda* says he was called *Al Amin*, the faithful one, when he was young, p. 11.

you a perfidious one; and, composing her cloaths, got out of his hands, and went and complained to her father: the old gentleman, to calm her resentment, told her she was now betrothed to *Mahomet*, and that made him take liberties with her, as if she had been his wife.

The Story of Mahomet's ascent into Heaven.

The Mahometan writers are not agreed about the time of this transaction, nor as to the manner of it, whether it were only a vision or a real journey. The most received opinion is, that it was in the 12th year of his mission: and the most orthodox belief is, that it was a real journey taken by him: ^a I shall give it in the words of *Abu'l Feda*, who took his relation out of *Al Bokhari*. ^b *Hodba* the son of *Caled* said, that *Hamman* son of *Jabia* said, that *Cottada* had it from *Anas* the son of *Malek* the son of *Sesa*, that the prophet of God w. G. b. gave them a relation of his night-journey to heaven in these words: As I was within the inclosure of the *Caaba*, or as he sometimes told the story, as I lay upon a stone, behold one came to me (*Gabriel*) with another, and cut me open from the pit of the throat to the groin: this done, he took out my heart, and presently was brought near me a golden basin full of the water of faith: and he washed my heart, stuffed it, and replaced it: then was brought to me a white beast less than a mule but larger than an ass, I mounted him, and *Gabriel* went with me till I came to the first heaven of the world: and he knocked at the

^a According to a tradition from *Ayesha*, it must have been a dream, for she said he was in bed with her all that night.

^b The author of the book of the most authentic traditions; an account will be given of him hereafter, p. 30, note *a*.

‘ door, it was said to him, who is there? he answered, *Gabriel*, and who is with you? he answered, *Mohammed*: it was said, has the apostle had his mission? he answered, yes: it was said, may it be fortunate to him, he will now be very welcome; and the door was opened: and behold, there was *Adam*, and *Gabriel* said to me, this is your father *Adam*, greet him, and I did so, and he returned it, saying, may my best son and the best prophet be prosperous. Then he went up with me to the second heaven, and knocked at the door, it was said to him, who is there? he answered, *Gabriel*, it was said to him, and who is with you? it was said, *Mahommed*: it was said, has the apostle had his mission? he answered, yes: it was said, may it be fortunate to him, he will now be very welcome: and the door was opened, and behold there was *Jabia* (i. e. *John*,) and *Isa* (*Jesus*;) and they both cousin Germans:^a *Gabriel* said to me, these are *Jabia* and *Isa*, greet them, and I did so: and they both returned it, saying, may our best brother and the best prophet be successful.’ It would be nauseous to an English reader to repeat in the same manner, as my author does, the knocking at the door, the question and answer, the greeting and returning of it, through the following five heavens: it is sufficient to say that *Mahomet* being with *Gabriel* let into the third heaven found *Joseph* there: *Enoch* in the fourth heaven: *Aaron* in the fifth: *Moses* in the sixth: and *Abraham* in the seventh: and that when he was near *Moses*, *Moses* wept: and being asked the reason of his weeping, said it was because a young man whose

^a Here *Mahomet* was mistaken, the virgin *Mary* and *Elizabeth* were not sisters.

‘ mission was posterior to his would have a greater
 ‘ number of his nation enter into paradise than
 ‘ there would be of his countrymen. Then I was
 ‘ carried up to the tree *Sedrat*, beyond which it is
 ‘ not lawful to go, the fruit thereof is as large as
 ‘ the water pots of *Hagjira*, and the leaves as big
 ‘ as the ears of an elephant: there were also four
 ‘ rivers; and I asked *Gabriel* what rivers are
 ‘ these? he answered, two of them run within
 ‘ paradise quite through it, the other two that run
 ‘ on the outside of it are the *Nile* and the *Euphrates*.
 ‘ Then he took me to *the house of visitation*^a into
 ‘ which 70000 angels go every day: then were
 ‘ set before me three vessels, one of wine, another
 ‘ of milk, and the third of honey: I drank of the
 ‘ milk, whereupon *Gabriel* said to me, this is the
 ‘ happiest for thee and thy nation.’ *Another tradi-*
tion adds, if you had chosen the wine, your nation
would have strayed from the right way. ‘ Lastly,
 ‘ when I came to the throne of God, I was or-
 ‘ dered to pray fifty times a day. In my return
 ‘ from thence, being near *Moses*, he asked me what
 ‘ I had been commanded to do; I told him to pray
 ‘ fifty times a day? and are you able, said he, to pray
 ‘ fifty times a day? and swore, I have made the ex-
 ‘ periment among mankind, for I have endeavoured
 ‘ to bring the children of *Israel* to it, but never
 ‘ could compass it: go back then to your Lord and
 ‘ beg an abatement for your nation, so I went back,
 ‘ and he took off ten prayers: and coming to *Moses*
 ‘ he advised me as before, and I went back again
 ‘ and had ten more abated: then coming to *Moses*
 ‘ he repeated the same advice; I therefore return-

^a This house is the original whereof a copy was sent down
 to *Adam*, as is mentioned before, page 4.

ed, and was commanded to pray ten times a day :
‘ upon *Moses*’s repeating what he had said before,
‘ I went back again, and was commanded to say
‘ prayers five times a day, and when *Moses* was in-
‘ formed of this last order, he would have had me
‘ go back again to my Lord and beg a still farther
‘ abatement : I replied, I have so often petitioned
‘ my Lord that I am ashamed : and so saying, I
‘ took my leave of him, and prayed for him .

The foregoing account of *Mahomet*’s night’s journey is modest, in comparison of what some authors give us, who, from other traditions, add many other wonders ; as, that the beast *Alborac* would not let *Mahomet* mount, till he had promised him a place in paradise ; that then he took him quietly on his back, and in the twinkling of an eye, *Gabriel* leading him all the way by the bridle, carried him to *Jerusalem* : that *there* a number of the prophets and saints departed appeared at the gate of the temple, saluted him, and, attending him into the chief oratory, desired him to pray for them : that when he came out from thence, there was a ladder of light ready set for them, on which *Gabriel* and *Mahomet* went up to the heavens, having first tied *Alborac* to a ring, where he used to be tied by the prophets who rode him. That besides what is already mentioned, *Mahomet* in the first heaven which was made of pure silver, saw the stars hanging from it by chains of gold, each star as large as mount *Nobo* near *Mecca*, and that in these stars angels kept watch and ward, that devils might not come near, to listen and hear what was doing in heaven. As he went farther on, he saw a multitude of angels of all manner of shapes, which presided over and interceded for the several
kinds

kinds of birds and beasts in whose shapes they appeared : that, amongst those of the birds, there was a cock, *the angel of the cocks*, so large, that his feet standing upon the first heaven, his head reached up to the second, which was at the distance of a 500 days journey, according to the common rate of travelling upon earth : and this he makes the distance of every one of the seven heavens from the heaven next to it in order : others are still more extravagant, and say, the head of the cock reached through all the seven heavens, up to the throne of God : that his wings which are large in proportion to his height, are deckt with carbuncles and pearls : that every morning when God sings an holy hymn, this cock joins in it, and crows so loud as to be heard by all the creatures upon the earth, except men and fairies : and that upon hearing him all the cocks upon earth crow also. That in the second heaven, which was all of pure gold, he saw an angel so large that his head reached up to the third heaven. The third heaven was all made of precious stones, there he found *Abraham*, who recommended himself to his prayers : there he saw more angels than in either of the former heavens, and one of them of so prodigious a stature that the distance between his two eyes was equal to the length of a journey of 70000 days : ^a this, *Gabriel* told him was the angel of death, who had a table before him of an immense bigness, whereon he was continually writing down the names of those who were to be born, and blotting out the

^a Here *Prideux* observes that the distance between a man's eyes is in proportion to his height., as 1 to 72. So that the height of this angel must have been 4 times as much as the height of all the seven heavens, and therefore he could not stand in one of them.

names of those who were to die. The fourth heaven was all of emerald, therein he found *Joseph* the son of *Jacob*, who desired him to pray for him: the number of angels was greater in this than in the third heaven; one of them whose head reached to the fifth heaven, was always weeping for the sins of mankind, and the miseries they thereby bring upon themselves. The fifth heaven was made of adamant, here he found *Moses*, who desired his prayers. The sixth heaven was of carbuncle, here was *John the Baptist*, who begged his prayers. In the seventh heaven, which was made of heavenly light, he found *Jesus*; whose prayers he desired for himself: here, says *Prideaux*, *Mahomet* changes his style, and acknowledges *Jesus* for his superior: *Gagnier* thinks this improbable, as he taught *Jesus* to be no more than a creature, and pretended that he himself was the most perfect of all creatures: perhaps it will solve this difficulty to observe, that this privilege was not yet granted to *Mahomet*. In this heaven were more angels than in all the rest of the heavens; and among them one a very extraordinary angel, who had 70000 heads, and in every head 70000 mouths, in every mouth 70000 tongues, and every tongue uttering 70000 distinct voices, with which he was day and night incessantly praising God.

Gabriel having brought him thus far, told him he was not permitted to go any farther, and directed him to ascend the rest of the way by himself; which he did through water and snow, and other difficulties, 'till he heard a voice say, *Mahomet salute thy Creator*. Ascending higher, he came into a place of that exceeding brightness that his

his eyes could not bear it; and there the throne of the Almighty was placed, on the right side whereof was written, *La ellah ellalla Mohammed resul allah, There is no God but God, Mahomet is the Prophet of God*: the same Inscription was also upon all the gates of the seven heavens. Having approached to the presence of God, as near as within two bow-shots, he said, he saw him sitting upon his throne, with a covering of 70000 veils upon his face: that, in token of favour, he put forth his hand and laid it on him, which was of that exceeding coldness as to pierce to the very marrow of his back: that, after this, God talked familiarly with him, taught him many mysteries, instructed him in the whole of his law, gave him many things in charge concerning his teaching it, and bestowed several privileges upon him, as that he should be the most perfect of all creatures; that, at the day of judgment, he should be advanced above all the rest of mankind, and that he should be the redeemer of all who believed in him. Then returning to *Gabriel*, they went back the same way they came, through all the heavens; and, going to *Jerusalem*, found *Alborac* where he had been left tied, and was brought back by him to *Mecca* in the same manner as he had been carried from thence, and all this in the tenth part of a night.

On his relating this extravagant story to the people the next morning after he pretended this had happened, it was received by them, as it deserved, by a general hoot: some laughed at the ridiculousness of it, others were moved with indignation at his offering to impose upon them with such an absurd and impudent lie, and bade him
ascend

ascend up to heaven before their eyes, and they would believe : and some of his disciples were so shocked at so improbable a fiction, that they left him: but, to prevent farther defection from him, *Abubeker* came and vouched for the truth of all *Mahomet* had related; upon which account he had conferred upon him the title of *Affaddick, the just man*: but as this was a great stumbling-block even to his friends, he, not thinking *Abubeker's* asseveration sufficient, brings God himself to bear witness to the truth of the transactions of this night's journey in two places of the *Alcoran*.

How absurd soever this story seems, *Mahomet* was sure to find his account in it, if he could but once get it believed; as it would raise his authority among his followers to that height, that they could never refuse to receive any doctrine he should afterwards advance, nor refuse him obedience, whatever he should think proper to command. And here, besides the *Alcoran*, or written law, was a foundation laid for an oral law, of the same nature with that which the *Jews* have, consisting of traditions of such directions as they say *Moses* received, besides the written law, during his forty days stay upon mount *Sinai*, and were by him dictated by word of mouth to those about him; accordingly the *Mahometans* pay as great a regard to many traditions of the sayings and actions of *Mahomet*, as to the *Alcoran* itself: and as the *Jews* have several books in which their oral law is recited and explained, so have the *Mahometans* their *Sunnab*, or tradition; in which the sayings and doings of *Mahomet*, any way relating to religion or law, are related in the manner set down pag. 22, from *Al Bokhari*,

Bokhari^a, so as to be carried from the collector of the tradition through several hands up to one of *Mahomet*'s intimate companions, who had the saying from his own mouth; or was present at his doing the action related. They have also many commentators upon that *Sunnah*.

We may observe different traditions give different accounts of the placing the prophets, *Abraham*, *Moses*, &c. *Gagnier*^b has a much longer relation of the night-journey from *Abu Horaira*, one of the six authors of traditions^c, who had every thing from the mouth of *Mahomet* himself: some of the principal things not mentioned in the other traditions are these; 1, *Gabriel*'s appearing in the form he was created in; his complexion white as snow, white hair finely plaited and hanging in curls about his shoulders, &c. upon his forehead were two plates, on one was written, *There is no God but God*; on the other, *Mahomet is the Apostle of God*: he had about him ten thousand little perfume bags full of musk and saffron: five hundred pair of wings; and from one wing to the other there was the distance of a journey of five hundred years. 2, a fuller description of the beast *Alborac*; he

^a This famous Doctor was from *Bokhara* the place of his birth, or his chief residence, called *Al Bokhari*. His collection of traditions is of the greatest authority of all that have ever been made: He called it *Al Sahih*, i. e. *genuine*; because he separated the spurious ones from those that were authentic. He says, he selected 7275 of the most authentic traditions out of 100000, which he looked upon to be true, having rejected 200000 as being false. *D'Herbelot*, tit. *Bokhari* & *Al Sahih*.

^b Vie de *Mahomet*. ^c The six persons from whom the most authentic traditions come, are 1, *Ayesha* the prophet's wife. 2, *Abu Horaira* his particular friend. 3, *Abu Abbas*. 4, *Ebn Omar* son of the Caliph *Omar*. 5, *Giaber* son of *Abdallas*. 6, *Anas* son of *Malok*.

had the face of a man, his mane of fine pearls, &c. his eyes two large emeralds, bright as stars, &c. two large wings, enamelled with pearls, and precious stones, bordered with light: he had an human soul, and understood what was said, but could not speak; only speech was given to him, at this time, to ask *Gabriel* to intercede with *Mahomet* that he might have a place in paradise, which he promised him. 3, *Gabriel* made the prophet stop and alight upon mount *Sinai*, and pray with two bowings, and get up again, and go on till he was over *Bethlehem*; and there he was ordered to alight, and say the prayer with two bowings. 4, as he went along, he had twice an earnest call to stop; then a young woman finely dressed accosted him, offered her hand, and told him she was entirely at his service: but *Alborac* continued his pace. *Gabriel* afterwards told him, if he had obeyed the first call, his nation would all have become Jews; if the second, they would have been Christians: and that the woman who tempted him was the world: and that if he had stopt to answer her, his nation would have chosen the enjoyment of this world preferably to eternal happiness, and so have been cast into hell. 5, he met a venerable old man of the finest look that could be seen; he embraced the prophet tenderly, who returned it; *Gabriel* told him this was *Islam*. 6, they went to the temple of the resurrection (*in Jerusalem*) and met there a man with three pitchers, one of water, one of milk, the third of wine; *Mahomet*, being ordered to chuse, drank of the milk; the consequence of which was that his nation would be directed in the right way, to the day of resurrection: but

hearing,

hearing, that if he had drank it all, none of his nation would ever have gone to hell; he begged he might take the milk again, and drink it all up: but *Gabriel* said, it is too late, the thing is determined. 7, a ladder with steps of gold and precious stones was placed where *Jacob's* ladder was set, whereon he saw angels going up and down; on this *Gabriel* ascended, hugging *Mahomet* close to his bosom, and covering him with his wings. 8, in the fifth heaven he saw an angel so large that he could have swallowed the seven heavens and seven earths as easily as a pea: and another angel of a most frightful aspect, who was the governour of hell, of which he had also a sight. 9, in the sixth heaven he saw an angel half snow and half fire; upon which, he prayed him who could join together things so contrary to unite his several believers, in obedience to him. 10, in the seventh heaven the impostor has the impudence to say, he heard God and one of the angels alternately repeat the profession, *God is one, and Mahomet is his Apostle*. 11, *Gabriel* had stopped at the tree *Sedrat*, it not being permitted to any angel to go any farther; but, upon *Mahomet* being frightened at his leaving him alone, was ordered to conduct him farther; which he did, till he came to a sea of light, up to the angel who presided over it: then this angel took him and carried him to another sea of light, where another angel presided, of such a stature, that if every thing created in heaven and earth were put into his hand it would be but as a grain of mustard seed in a large field.

Then he was carried to a large black sea, and, going a shore, passed by several different choirs of angels,

angels, till he came to *Asraphel*, an angel with a million of wings, and a million of heads; in every head a million of mouths, &c. he supported the throne of God on the nape of his neck: *Mahomet*, being bidden to look up, saw upon the throne every thing that is contained in heaven and earth, in epitome. 10, besides the angel of the cocks before mentioned, he saw angels of such gigantic stature, that the distance from the center of the earth to the seventh heaven would not equal the height of their ancles. Then he was conducted by a retinue of 70000 angels within the 70000 veils; and, the last veil of the *unity* being lifted up, saw seventy millions of angels prostrate, adoring the supreme being; besides seventy thousand more, who had the care of the veils. There was a profound silence, when a voice said, *Mahomet* come near the powerful and glorious God: upon which he advanced, at one step, a journey of five hundred years; and, the same command being twice more repeated, took two more such steps: then the ground he stood upon was lifted up, so that he was within the Light of his Lord, and was quite absorbed by it, and dazzled; and, fearing he should be blinded, shut his eyes; and God opened the eyes of his heart: and now, being within the veil, he saw many things unutterable: then the Lord laid one hand on his breast, and the other upon his shoulder, upon which a cold penetrated into his bowels, but at the same time he was regaled with an inexpressible sweetness, and an odour infinitely charming: and now, the apostle being admitted to a conversation with his Creator, I shall take notice of some of the principal parts of it only: seeing a

* C

sword

sword hanging all bloody, he begged it might not hang over his nation: and was answered, I send thee with the sword, but thy nation shall not perish by the sword. Then he begged some degree of excellence might be given to him, as had been done to other prophets, as *Abraham*, *Moses*, &c. the answer was, there are two chapters in the *Alcoran*, which whoever reads shall have every thing necessary in this world, and enter into paradise in the life to come: as for you *Mahomet*, I have written your name in heaven along with my own: no mention is made of me in heaven or earth but you are mentioned also: no cryer shall call to prayers without saying, God is but one, and *Mahomet* is the Apostle of God, nor will I accept any prayers if that profession is not made: then he desired pardon for his nation, and was promised a pardon for seventy thousand of them; and, upon his request the number might be increased, God took three handfuls of infinitely small dust, and scattered it, to shew so many Moslems would be saved that none but God alone was able to tell the number of them.

The first person to whom *Mahomet* related his night-journey was *Al Abbas*, who advised him by all means to keep it to himself; for, said he, if you speak of it in public you will be called a liar, and be otherwise insulted: *Omm Hana* daughter of *Abu Taleb* earnestly intreated him to the same purpose, and laid hold on his vest, to detain him; but he angrily broke from her, and went and declared it in a large company, and met with a good many affronts, particularly from *Abu Jebel*, who called out to him and said, *Mahomet* you say you have

have been in the temple of *Jerusalem*, pray give us some description of it ; as for me I have been in it more than once : hearing this *Abubeker* was in such a consternation that he fell to the ground, and *Mahomet* whispered, in his ear, that he was quite at a loss what to say ; because it was in the night that he was there : but soon got out of this difficulty, by the help of his friend *Gabriel*, who held in his view, unseen by every body else, a model of the temple, which enabled him to answer all questions they put to him about the number and situation of the doors, lamps, &c. so exactly according to the truth, as to strike the hearers with astonishment. So much may suffice from *Abu Horaira*, whose tradition is accounted of great authority, and will by every reader be thought as credible as the other from *Anas* son of *Malek*.

In the thirteenth year of his mission, *Musaab* son of *Omair* with seventy men and eighteen women, believers, and some others not yet converted, came to *Mecca*, and promised the apostle to meet him at night at a place called *Akaba* : he went to them, and with him his uncle *Al Abbas*, who had not yet embraced *Islam* ; but favoured his nephew's interest : *Al Abbas* made a speech, wherein he recommended to them to stand by his nephew, whom they had invited to come among them. *Mahomet* proposed that they should take an oath to defend him as they would their wives and children : they demanded, What shall we get, if we be killed upon your account ? he answered *Paradise* : Stretch out your hand then, said they ; he did so, and they took the oath, and returned to *Yathreb*. Then the prophet ordered his *Mecca*

converts to get away secretly to *Yathreb*, but staid himself at *Mecca*, till he should have the divine permission to go from thence; *Abubeker* and *Ali* staid with him.

The *Coreishites*, finding the prophet had thus entered into a league with those of *Yathreb*, and that his party at *Mecca* stuck close to him, took a resolution to assassinate him: whereof being informed, he made his escape, by throwing a handful of dust upon the heads of the infidels, says my author, having first put his own green vest upon *Ali*, and ordered him to lie down in his place, which he did: the assassins peeped in through a crevise of the door, and seeing the green vest, thought themselves sure of him, till *Ali* came out in the morning, and then, finding their mistake, sent out parties in pursuit of him; here *Mahomet* narrowly escaped, he and *Abubeker* hiding themselves three days in a cave: some tell us, a spider spread a web over the mouth of the cave, and a pigeon laid two eggs there, the sight of which made the pursuers not go in to search for them. When their pursuers were returned home, they came out; and, by the help of a guide, got safe to *Yathreb*: there they met with a kind reception, for some of the *helpers* eager to entertain him, laid hold of the bridle of his camel; Let her go, said he, she is obstinate: at last, when she came to a certain place^a, she kneeled, and the prophet lighted, and

^a Some christian writers quoted by *Prideaux*, say the ground belonged to two orphans, whom *Mahomet* violently dispossessed of it, to build a *mosque* thereon, for the exercise of his new religion; but *Gagnier* brings *Arab* writers that say he bought the ground and paid for it. Not, in *Abu'l Fed.* pag. 53.

walked till he met *Abu Aiub* one of the helpers, who took his baggage off his camel, and received him into his house. He lived with *Abu Aiub* till he had built an house of his own, and settled there, till his death : whereupon the town lost its ancient name *Yathreb*, and was called *Medinatol Nabi*, the town of the prophet, and at last *Medina*, the town, by way of eminence ; in the same manner as *London* is often called the town.

Mahomet had hitherto propagated his religion by fair means only : during his stay at *Mecca* he had declared his business was only to preach and admonish ; and that whether people believed or not was none of his concern : he had used only the arts of perswasion, promising the joys of *Paradise*, to all who believed in him, and who should, for the hopes of them, disregard the things of this world, and even bear persecution with patience and resignation : and, to deter his hearers from infidelity, as he called it, he set before them the punishments inflicted in this world upon *Pharaoh* and others, who had despised the warnings of the prophets sent to reclaim them ; and the torments of hell, which would be their portion in the world to come : but now, when he had got a considerable town at his command, and a good number of followers firmly attached to him, he began to sing another note : now, *Gabriel* brings him messages from heaven, that, whereas other prophets had come with miracles and been rejected, he was to take different measures, and propagate *Islam* by the sword : and accordingly, within a year after his arrival at *Medina*, he began what was called the holy war. He first instituted a brotherhood,

joining his *Ansars* or *helpers* and his *Mohajerin*s or *refugees* together in pairs; he himself took *Ali* for his brother, which made *Ali*, afterwards preaching at *Cufa*, say, I am the servant of God, and brother to the apostle of God. This *Hejira* or flight of *Mahomet* is the *Æra* from which the *Mahometans* date the times of all transactions.

In the second year of the *Hejira*, *Mahomet* changed the *Kebla* of the *Moslems* which had before been towards *Jerusalem*, and ordered them to turn towards *Mecca*, when they prayed^a: the same year, he appointed the fast of the month *Ramadhan*.

Mahomet having a pretty large congregation at *Medina*, was thinking of calling them to prayers by an horn, or some instrument of wood, which should make a noise when it was struck upon; but this year, one of his disciples had a dream that a man in a green vest recommended, as a better way, to have the people summoned to prayers by a cryer, who should call out, *Allah acbar Allah acbar*, &c. *God is great, God is great, there is but one God, Mahomet is his prophet*;^b *come to prayers, come to prayers*: *Mahomet* approved of the scheme, and this very form is in use to this day among the *Moslems*: in the call to morning prayers, they add these words, *prayer is better than sleep, prayer is better than sleep*: a sentiment not unworthy the consideration of those who are professors of a better religion.

^a This was partly out of aversion to the Jews, his mortal enemies, and partly to please the idolatrous *Arabs*, whose ancient *Kebla* was *Mecca*. ^b The *Persians* add these words, *and Ali is the friend of God*: *Kouli Khan* having a mind to unite the two differing sects, ordered them to be omitted. *Frazer's* life of *Kouli Khan*. pag. 124.

The same year, the apostle sent some of his people to plunder a caravan going to *Mecca*, which they did, and brought two prisoners to *Medina*: this was the first act of hostility committed by the *Moslems* against the idolaters: the next was the battle of *Beder*: the history of it is as follows, from *Abu'l Feda*. The apostle hearing that a caravan of the *Meccans* was coming home from *Syria*, escorted by *Abu Sophian* at the head of thirty men, placed a number of soldiers in ambuscade to intercept them: *Abu Sophian*, being informed of this by his spies, sent notice of it to *Mecca*, whereupon all the principal men came to his assistance, except *Abu Labeb*, who sent *Al Asum* son of *Hesham* in his stead; they were in all 950 men, whereof 200 were cavalry. The apostle of God w.G.b. went out against them with 313 men, 77 of them *refugees* from *Mecca*, the rest *helpers* from *Medina*: they had with them only two horses and seventy camels, upon which they rode by turns. The apostle encamped near a well called *Beder*, from the name of the person who was owner of it, and had a hut made where he and *Abubeker* sat: as soon as the armies were in sight of each other, three champions came out from among the idolaters, *Otha* son of *Rabia*, his brother *Shaiba*, and *Al Walid* son of *Otha*: the prophet sent *Obeida* son of *Hareth* against the first of these, *Hamza* against the second, and *Ali* against the third: *Hamza* and *Ali* slew each his man, and then went to the assistance of *Obeida*, and killed his adversary, and brought *Obeida* off, who soon after died of a wound in his foot. All this while the apostle continued in his hut, in prayer, beating his breast so violently that

his cloak fell off his shoulders, and was taken suddenly with a palpitation of the heart, but recovered, and then comforted *Abubeker*, telling him *God's help was come*; and forthwith ran out of his hut, and encouraged his men, and took a handful of dust and threw towards the *Coreishites*, and said, May their faces be confounded; and immediately they fled: after the battle, *Abdolla* the son of *Masud* brought the head of *Abu Jabel* to the apostle, who gave thanks to God: *Al As* brother to *Abu Jabel* was also killed. Upon the news of this defeat, *Abu Labeb* died of grief, in a weeks time: the number of idolaters slain was seventy: my author names some of chief note; among them was *Hantala* son of *Abu Sopian*, and *Nawfal*, brother to *Cadigba*: *Ali* slew six of them with his own hand.

Al Abbas the prophet's uncle, and *Ocail* son of *Abu Taleb* were taken prisoners: the prophet ordered the dead bodies of the enemy to be drawn into a pit: Of the *Moslems* died fourteen *martyrs*, (so they call all such as die fighting for *Islam*) the apostle staid three days upon the field of battle dividing the spoil; on occasion whereof a quarrel arose between the *helpers* and the *refugees*: to quiet them, the 8th chapter of the *Alcoran* was brought from heaven: it begins thus, *They will ask thee concerning the spoils: say, the spoils belong to God and his apostle*: and, after, runs thus, *and know that whenever ye gain any, a fifth part belongeth to God, and to the apostle, and his kindred, and the orphans, and the poor*. The other 4 fifths are to be divided among those who are present at the action. The apostle, when he returned to *Safra* in his way to *Medina*, ordered *Ali* to behead two of his prisoners.

The

The victory at *Beder* was of great importance to *Mahomet*, to encourage his men, and increase the number of his followers: he pretended two miracles were wrought in his favour, in this, and in several subsequent battles: 1, that God sent his angels to fight on his side, and 2, made his army appear to the enemy much greater than it really was. He mentions both these miracles in the *Alcoran*, ch. 8. *Al Abbas* said, he was taken prisoner by a man of a prodigious size; (*an angel to be sure*) no wonder then he became a convert.

‘*Ommia* the son of *Abu’l Salat* was one of the chief of the unbelievers: being one who could read, he had objected to the mission of the prophet w. G. b. and was arrived to that pitch of madness, as to hope to be received for an apostle himself: he had been in *Syria*, and, returning home near the well where they told him the carcasses of the slain, and among them two of his near relations, had been thrown, in token of grief, cut off the ears of his camel; and, standing by the well, recited a long elegy,’ of which the following lines are a part: *Abu’l Feda vit. Mahom.*

‘Have I not wail’d th’ heroic sons of nobles,
‘their wounded bodies and their fractur’d ribs,
‘in the thick wood as mourns the lonely dove?
‘like her, with me, lament ye mourning women,
‘with sighs and groans, low sitting on the ground.
‘Alas! the peers and princes of the people
‘how fall’n, at *Beder* and *Al Kandali*!
‘all night expos’d lie there both old and young,
‘naked and breathless.
‘Oh what a change is come to *Mecca*’s vale!
‘ev’n sandy desert plains are drencht in tears.

As

As soon as the *Moslems* returned to *Medina*, the *Coreishites* sent to offer a ransom for their prisoners, which was accepted, and distributed among those who had taken them, according to the quality of the prisoners: some had 1000 drachms for their share; those who had a small or no part of the ransom *Mahomet* rewarded with donations, so as to content them all.

The Jews had made a treaty with *Mahomet*, and lived peaceably at *Medina*; till a Jew, having affronted an *Arabian* milk-woman, was killed by a *Moslem*: to revenge this, the Jews killed the *Moslem*, whereupon a skirmish ensued: the Jews fled to their castles, and after a siege of fifteen days, were forced to surrender at discretion: *Mahomet* ordered their hands to be tied behind them, determined to put them all to the sword, and was with great difficulty prevailed upon to spare their lives, and take all they had. *Caab* son of *Ashraf*, was one of the most violent among the Jews against *Mahomet*: he had been at *Mecca*, and with some pathetic verses upon the unhappy fate of those slain at *Beder*, stirred up the *Meccans* to take up arms: and upon his return to *Medina*, rehearsed those verses among the lower sort of people, and the women: *Mahomet* was told of these underhand practises, and said one day, Who will rid me of the son of *Ashraf*? *Mohammed*, son of *Mosalama*, one of the *helpers*, answered, I am the man, O apostle of God that will do it: and immediately took with him *Salcan* son of *Salama*, and some other *Moslems* who were to lie in ambush; and, the better to decoy *Caab* out of his castle, which was a very strong one, *Salcan*, who was his foster-brother,

ther, went alone to visit him in the dusk of the evening; and, entering into conversation, told him some little stories of *Mahomet*, which he knew would please him: when he got up to take his leave, *Caab*, as he expected he would, waited upon him to the gate; and, continuing the conversation, went on with him till they came near the ambuscade; where *Mohammed* and his companions fell upon him and stabbed him.

Abu Sophian, meditating revenge for the defeat at *Beder*, swore he would neither anoint himself nor come near his women till he was even with *Mahomet*: and set out towards *Medina* with 200 horse, and ordered a party of them near the town, where one of the *helpers* fell into their hands, and was killed: *Mahomet*, being informed of it, went out against them, but they all fled, and, for the greater expedition, threw away some sacks of meal, part of their provision; from which this was called *the meal-war*.

Abu Sophian, resolved to make another and more effectual effort, got together a body of 3000 men, whereof 700 were cuirassiers, and 200 cavalry: his wife *Henda* with a number of women followed in the rear, beating drums, and lamenting the fate of those slain at *Beder*, and exciting the idolaters to fight courageously. The apostle would have waited for them in the town, but his people were for advancing towards the enemy: he did so, and set out with 1000 men, but 100 of them went back, disheartened at the superior number of the enemy: he encamped at the foot of mount *Obud* having the mountain in his rear: of the 900 men with him only 100 had armour on, and as for horses, there was only one besides that which he
himself

himself rode upon : *Mosaab* carried his standard. *Caled* son of *Al Walid* led the right wing of the idolaters, *Acrema* son of *Abu Jebel* the left : the women kept in the rear, beating their drums. *Henda* cried out to them, *Courage ye sons of Abdol Dari, courage ! smite with all your swords.*

The apostle placed fifty archers in his rear, and ordered them to keep their post. Then *Hamza* fought stoutly, and killed *Arta* the standard bearer of the idolaters ; and *Seba* son of *Abdol Uzza* coming near him *Hamza* struck off his head ; but was himself immediately after run through with a spear, by *Wabsha* a slave, who lurked behind a rock with that intent. Then *Ebn Kamia* slew *Mosaab* the apostle's standard-bearer ; and taking him for the apostle, cried out, *I have killed Mahomet.* When *Mosaab* was slain the prophet gave the standard to *Ali*.

At the beginning of the action the *Moslems* attacked the idolaters so furiously, as to make them give ground, and fall back upon their rear, and put it into disorder : the archers seeing this, and expecting a compleat victory, contrary to the express orders that had been given them, left their posts and came forward, that they might not loose their share of the plunder : in the mean time, *Caled* advancing with his cavalry, fell furiously upon the rear of the *Moslems*, and cried out aloud at the same time, that *Mahomet* was slain : this, and the finding themselves attacked on all sides, threw the *Moslems* into a consternation ; so that the idolaters made great havock among them, and pressed on so near the apostle, as to beat him down, with a shower of stones and arrows : he had his lip wound-

wounded, and two heads of arrows stuck in his face: *Abu Obeida* pulled out first one, and then the other; at each operation, one of the apostle's teeth came out: *Sonan Abu Said* wiped the blood off his face; then the apostle said, he that touches my blood and handles it tenderly shall not have his blood spilt in the fire (*of hell.*) In this action, it is said, *Telbab*, whilst he was putting a breast-plate upon *Mahomet*, received a wound upon his hand, and continued lame on it ever after. *Omar* and *Abubeker* were also wounded. When the *Moslems* saw *Mahomet* fall, they concluded he was killed; and fled upon it: *Othman* was carried away with the croud of those that fled; but in a little time finding *Mahomet* was alive, a great number of them returned to the battle; and, after a very obstinate fight, brought him off, and carried him to a neighbouring village. The *Moslems* had seventy men killed, the idolaters lost only two and twenty.

The *Coreishites* had no other fruit of their victory but the gratifying a poor spirit of revenge: *Henda* and the women who had fled with her, upon the first disorder of the idolaters, returned now; and committed great barbarities upon the dead bodies of the apostles friends: they cut off their ears and noses, and made bracelets and necklaces of them: *Henda* pulled *Hamza's* liver out of his body, and chewed and swallowed some of it. *Abu Sophian* cut pieces off the cheeks of *Hamza*, put them upon the end of his spear, and cried out aloud, The success of war is uncertain; after the battle of *Beder* comes the battle of *Ohud*; now *Hobal*^a thy religion is victorious: notwithstanding

^a The name of an idol worshipped by the *Arabs*.

this boasting, he decamped the same day; which *Jannabi* ascribes to a panic: however that were, *Abu Sophian* sent to propose a truce for a year, which was agreed to.

When the enemy were retreated towards *Mecca*, *Mahomet* went to the field of battle to look for the body of *Hamza*: and, finding it shamefully mangled, as has been before related, ordered it to be wrapped in a black cloak, and prayed over it, repeating seven times *Allah acbar*, &c. God is great, &c. then he prayed over every one of the martyrs in the same manner, naming *Hamza* again with every one of them; so that *Hamza* had the prayers said over him seventy two times: and, as if this were not enough, he declared that *Gabriel* told him, he had been received into the seventh heaven, with this *elogium*, *Hamza* the lion of God, and the lion of the apostle of God.

The *Moslems* were much chagrined at this defeat: some expressed a doubt of the apostle being so much in the divine favour as he pretended, since he had suffered such an overthrow by infidels: others murmured at the loss of their friends and relations: he used various arguments to pacify them: he told them, the sins of some of them were the cause of their disgrace: that they had been disobedient to orders, in quitting their post, for the sake of plunder: that the devil put it into the minds of those who turned back; which, however, was forgiven, because God is merciful: that it was to try them, and shew who were believers and who not: that the event of war is uncertain: that the enemy had suffered as well as they: that other prophets had been worsted in battle: that death is unavoidable:

able: and here his doctrine of fate was of great service to him, as it was afterwards to his successors, to make his people fearless, and even desperate in fight: for he taught them, that the time of every man's death is so unalterably fixt, that he cannot die before the appointed hour; and, when that is come, no caution whatever can prolong his life one moment:^a so that they who were slain in battle would certainly have died at the same time, if they had been at home in their houses: but, as they now died fighting for the faith, they had thereby gained a crown of martyrdom, and entered immediately into paradise, where they were in perfect bliss with their Lord.

In the beginning of the next year, *Mahomet*, hearing the *Asadites* had a design against the country about *Medina*, sent a party of fifty men who ravaged their country, and brought away a great number of sheep; and so many camels that every man had seven for his share. About that time, being informed that *Sophian* son of *Caled* the *Hodhailite* was raising men against him, he ordered *Abdollah* son of *Onais*, a determined *bravo*, to go and assassinate him; which he performed, and was rewarded by *Mahomet* with his walking-stick: which *Abdollah* carried with him ever after, and ordered it to be buried with him.

Mahomet sent also *Amru* with an assistant to *Mecca*, to assassinate *Abu Sophian*; but *Amru* was discovered, and forced to fly, with his companion, and returned to *Medina* without success. This year, the prophet had a revelation to prohibit wine, and games of chance: some say, on account of a quarrel thereby occasioned among his followers.

^a An opinion as ancient as *Homer. Iliad. 6. v. 487.*

This year also, the people of *Edlo* and *Al-Karà* sent a deputation to desire the prophet to send some *Moslems* to instruct them in his religion: he sent six men with them, three of whom they treacherously massacred, and took the other three prisoners: one of the prisoners was killed as he endeavoured to make his escape; the other two were sold to the *Coreishites*, who put them to a cruel death.

In the fifth year of the *Hejira*, *Mahomet*, informed by his spies of a design against *Medina*, surrounded it with a ditch, which was no sooner finished than the *Meccans* with several tribes of *Arabs* sat down before it, to the number of 10000 men; the appearance of so great a force threw the *Moslems* into a consternation: some were ready to revolt, one of them said aloud, yesterday the prophet promised we should get the wealth of *Cosroes* and *Cæsar*, and now he is forced to hide himself in a nasty ditch. In the mean time, *Mahomet* concealing his concern, set as good a face upon the matter as he could, marched out with 3000 *Moslems*, and formed his army at a little distance behind the intrenchment. The two armies continued facing each other for twenty days, without any action; except some arrows discharged on both sides. At length, some champions of the *Coreishites*, *Amru* son of *Abd-Wodd*, *Acrema* son of *Abu Jekel*, and *Nawfal* son of *Abdolla* came to the ditch, and leaped over it; and, wheeling about between the ditch and the *Moslem* army, challenged them to fight: *Ali* readily accepted the challenge, and came forward against his uncle *Amru*, who said to him, Nephew what a pleasure am I now going to have in killing you? *Ali* replied, no, it is I that am to have a much greater

greater pleasure in killing you : *Amru* immediately lighted and ham-stringed his horse, and advanced towards *Ali*, who had also quitted his horse, and was ready to receive him : they fought, and, in turning about to flank each other, raised such a dust that they could not be distinguished, only the strokes of their swords might be heard ; till, the dust being laid, *Ali* was seen with his knee upon the breast of his adversary, cutting his throat : upon this, the other two champions went back as fast as they came : *Nawfal*, in leaping the ditch, got a fall, and was overwhelmed with a shower of stones ; and cried out, I had rather die by the sword than thus : *Ali* heard him, and leaped into the ditch and dispatched him. He then pursued *Acrema*, and wounded him with a spear ; and drove him and his companions back to the army : there they related what had happened ; which put them in such fear, that they were ready to retreat : some of their tents were overthrown by a storm, and there arose such a discord among them, that the *Coreishites*, finding themselves forsaken by their auxiliaries, returned to *Mecca*. *Mahomet* made a miracle of the retreat ; and published upon it this verse of the *Alcoran*, *God sent a storm, and legions of angels, which you did not see.*

Upon the apostle's returning into the town, laying by his armour and washing himself, *Gabriel* came and asked him, *Have you laid by your arms ? we have not laid by ours ; go and attack them*, pointing to the *Coraidites*, a jewish tribe confederated against him : whereupon, he went and so closely besieged them in their castles, that, after twenty five days, they surrendered at discretion : he refer-

ed the conditions to be settled by *Saad* son of *Moad*; who, being wounded by an arrow at the ditch, had wished he might only live to be revenged; and accordingly gave judgment; that the men, who were between 600 and 700, should all be put to the sword, the women and children sold for slaves, and their goods given to the soldiers for a prey: *Mahomet* extolled the justice of this sentence, as a divine direction sent down from the seventh heaven; and had it punctually executed: *Saad* presently after died of his wound: *Mahomet* performed his funeral obsequies, and made an harangue in praise of him.

One *Salam*, a jew, having been very strenuous in stirring up the people against the prophet, some zealous *Casregites* came to him and desired leave to go and assassinate him; he gave them leave, and they went to his house, and, being let in by his wife, upon their pretending they wanted to buy provisions, barred the door, murdered him in his bed, and made their escape.

Towards the end of this year, *Mahomet*, going into the house of *Zaid*, did not find him at home, but happened to spy his wife *Zainab* so much in dishabille, as to discover beauties enough to touch the heart of one so amorous as he was: he could not conceal the impression made upon him; but cried out, *Praised be God who turneth mens hearts as he pleases!* *Zainab* heard him, and told it to her husband when he came home: *Zaid*, who had been greatly obliged to *Mahomet*, was very desirous to gratify him, and offered to divorce his wife; *Mahomet* dissuaded him from it, but *Zaid* easily perceived it was only a copy of his countenance, and
actu-

actually divorced her : then *Mahomet* took her to wife, and celebrated the nuptials with extraordinary magnificence, keeping open house upon the occasion : notwithstanding which, this step gave great offence, that a prophet should marry his son's wife ; for he had before adopted *Zaid* for his son : to salve the affair, he had recourse to his usual method : *Gabriel* brings him a revelation from heaven, that God had commanded him to take the wife of his adopted son, on purpose that, for the future, believers might have no scruple to marry the divorced wives, or widows of their adopted sons ; which the *Arabs* had before looked upon as unlawful : and the apostle is reprov'd for *fearing men*, in this affair, *whereas he ought to fear God*, Alc. c. 33.

In the sixth year he subdued several tribes of the *Arabs* : among the captives was a woman of great beauty, named *Juweira*, her *Mahomet* took to wife, and, by way of dowry, released all her kindred that were taken prisoners. At the same time a servant of *Omar* fighting with one of the *helpers* occasioned a quarrel between the *helpers* and the *refugees* : whereupon, *Abdollah*, son of *Abu Solul*, a *Medinian* unbeliever reflected upon the *refugees*, as a people that would encroach upon the *Medinians*, if they did not prevent it in time ; as now they might easily do : what he said was carried to the apostle ; and *Omar*, being by, would have had him send some body to strike off his head : what will people say, said the apostle, *may Mahomet put to death those that are with him ? as he pleases ?* presently after, the son of *Abdolla*, who had heard of the affair, came in, and said, O apostle of God, I am told you have some thoughts of condemning my father

to death : if that be your intent, command me, and I will immediately bring you his head. So well had this youth, who had embraced *Islam*, been instructed in the humane doctrine taught in the *Alcoran*, chap. 47, in these words, *if ye meet with any unbelievers, strike off their heads, till you have made a great slaughter of them : and bind them in strong bonds : and give them their liberty freely, or take a ransom, till the weapons of war are laid down.* The apostle, who knew when it was for his interest to appear merciful and placable, bade the young man be kind to his father, and not take any thing amiss of him.

When *Mahomet* went upon any expedition, it was generally determined by lots which of his wives should go with him ; at this time it fell to *Ayesha's* lot to accompany him : upon their return to *Medina*, *Ayesha* was accused of having an intrigue with one of the officers of the army, which occasioned her to be under great disgrace, for about a month : the prophet was exceedingly chagrined to have his best beloved wife accused of adultery, but his fondness for her prevailed over his resentment ; and she was restored to his favour, upon her own protestation of her innocence : this did not quite satisfy the world, nor set the prophet's mind perfectly at ease ; till *Gabriel* brought him a revelation, wherein she is declared innocent of the crime laid to her charge : and those who accuse believers of any crime, without proof, are severely reprov'd ; and a command given, that whosoever accuses chaste women and does not produce four eye-witnesses, shall receive eighty stripes : *Alcor. chap. 24.* accordingly, all those who had raised
this

this report upon *Ayesha* were scourged in that manner, except *Abdolla* son of *Abu Solul*, who was too considerable a man to be so dealt with, though he had been remarkably industrious in spreading the scandal.

Mahomet being now increased in power marched his army against *Mecca*, and by the way had an engagement, wherein neither side getting the advantage, a truce for ten years was agreed upon; the conditions whereof were that all within *Mecca*, who had a mind to it might join *Mahomet*: and those who had a mind to leave him and return to *Mecca* might have the liberty to do so: but, for the future, if any *Meccans* deserted to him, they should be sent back upon demand; and that *Mahomet* or any of his *Moslems* might come to *Mecca*, provided they came unarmed, and tarried not above three days at a time.

Mahomet was now so well confirmed in his power, that he took upon himself the authority of a king; and was, by the chief men of his army, inaugurated under a tree near *Medina*: and, as he had, by the truce, obtained for his followers free access to *Mecca*, he ordained they should, from that time, make their pilgrimages thither^a. It had been an ancient usage among the *Arabs* to come once a year to the *Caaba*, to worship their heathen Deities; *Mahomet* thought proper to comply with a custom they were so fond of, and that was so beneficial to his native place, by the great concourse of pilgrims that frequented it: and, when he came

^a He once thought to have ordered the pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*; but, finding the Jews so inveterate against him, thought it more adviseable to oblige the *Arabs*.

to be master of *Mecca*, established the pilgrimage, with most of the old ceremonies: and only took away the idols, and abolished the worship of them. When he took upon him the sovereign command, and the *insignia* of royalty, he still retained the sacred character of *chief Pontiff* of his religion, and transmitted both those powers to his *Caliphs* or *Successors*; who, for some time, not only ordered all matters of religion, but used to officiate in praying and preaching, in their Mosques: especially upon publick occasions. In process of time, this came to be all the authority the Caliphs had left, for, about the year of the *Hejira* 325, the governours of provinces seized the regal authority, and made themselves kings, each in his particular government: they paid indeed a deference to the *Caliph*, who usually resided at *Bagdat*, but often deposed him. At this present time, most Mahometan princes have a person in their respective dominions, who bears this sacred character; and is called the *Musti* in *Turkey*, and in *Persia* the *Sadre*: he is often appealed to, as the interpreter of the law; but, as a tool of state, usually gives such judgement as he knows will be most acceptable to his prince.

Mahomet at first used to preach in his Mosque at *Medina*, leaning upon a post of a palm-tree drove into the ground; but, being invested with this dignity, by the advice of one of his wives, had a pulpit made, which had two steps up to it, and a seat within: when *Othman* was Caliph, he hung it with tapestry; and *Moawiyah* raised it six steps higher, that he might be heard when he sat down, as he was forced to do, being very fat and heavy: whereas his predecessors all used to stand.

Mahomet

Mahomet had now a dream, that he had the key of the *Caaba* in his hand, and that he and his men made the *circuits* round it, and performed all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage: next morning he told his dream, and they were all in high spirits upon it; taking it for an *Omen*, that they should shortly be masters of *Mecca*: accordingly, great preparations were made for this expedition: the prophet declared his intent was to make the pilgrimage; and provided seventy camels for the sacrifice, which were conducted by 700 men, ten to each camel: and because he apprehended he should meet with opposition from the *Coreishites*, he took with him his best troops to the number of 1400 men, besides an incredible number of *wandering Arabs* from all parts. The *Coreishites* alarmed at the march of the *Moslems*, got together a considerable force, and encamped about six miles from *Mecca*. *Mahomet* continued his march, but finding, by his spies, the enemy had posted their men, so as to stop the passes, by feints and counter marches, came to a place where his camel fell upon her knees: the people said she was resty; but the prophet took it for a divine intimation not to proceed any farther in his intended expedition, but to wait with resignation, till the appointed time; and turned back, and encamped without the sacred territory, at *Hodaibia*. The *Coreishites* sent three several messengers, the two last men of consequence, to demand what was his intent in coming thither: the answer was, purely out of devotion to visit *the sacred house*; and not with any hostile design: *Mahomet* sent one of his men to give them the same assurance, but they cut the legs of his camel,

camel, and would have killed the man, if the *Ababishites* had not interposed, and helped him to escape. Then he would have had *Omar* go upon the same errand; but he excused himself, as not being upon good terms with the *Coreishites*: then *Othman* was sent, who delivered his message, and was coming away; when they told him he might make his circuits round the *Caaba*, if he pleased: he replied, he would not, before the apostle of God had first performed his vow to make the holy circuits: this provoked them so, that they laid him in irons: it was reported in the *Moslem* army that he was killed: whereat *Mahomet* was much afflicted, and said aloud, we will not stir from hence till we have given battle to the enemy. Then the whole army took an oath of obedience and fealty to the prophet: and he, by the ceremony of clapping his hands one against the other, took an oath to stand by them, as long as there was one of them left.

The *Coreishites* sent a party of eighty men towards the camp of the *Moslems* to beat up their quarters: being discovered by the centinels, they were surrounded, taken prisoners, and brought before *Mahomet*; who, thinking it proper at that time to be generous, released them: upon this *Sobail*, son of *Amru* was sent to him with proposals of peace, which were agreed to: in wording the treaty *Ali* had written, *articles agreed upon between Mahomet the apostle of God and Sobail son of Amru*; *Sobail* objected to that title, and said, if I owned you for an apostle of God I should be to blame to oppose you; write your own name and your fathers: *Mahomet*, not being in a condition to dispute the matter with him, bade *Ali* blot out
the

the words apostle of God ; but he bluntly swore he would not so dishonour his glorious title : whereupon, *Mahomet* took the pen, and blotted out the words himself, and wrote *son of Abdolla* : this, my author says, was one of his miracles ; for he never had learned to write. While they were drawing up the treaty, *Abu Jandal*, son of *Sobail*, who had embraced *Islam*, and been confined by his father at *Mecca*, got loose, and came among the *Moslems*, and, being discovered, was reclaimed by his father, in virtue of the articles. *Sobail* beat his son severely, for this elopement, but *Mahomet* exhorted the young man to have patience, for God would soon give liberty and prosperity to him and all *Moslems* in his condition : *Mahomet's* men were greatly disgusted at the disappointment they had met with : for they expected, from his dream, and the promises he had made them, a compleat victory ; whereas, after a great deal of fatigue, they were now forced to be contented with what they thought a dishonourable peace.

Mahomet had encamped without the precincts of *Mecca*, but so near the sacred territory, that he went thereon to say his prayers. He gave the word of command to his people, *slay the victims and shave your heads*, but no body stirred, to do as he had bidden them : telling this to his wife *Omm-Salama*, she advised him thus, go among them, and say nothing to any body, but slay your camels, and make your sacrifice ; and send for your barber and shave your head : he did so, and all his people immediately followed his example : the apostle cried out, *God be merciful to the shaved heads* : they answered, *and to the shaved beards too*, O apostle of God :

God: he repeated his prayer, and they repeated their response.

Mahomet, pretending he had a divine promise of a great booty, returned to *Medina*; and, having concluded a peace for ten years with the *Coreishites*, was the better enabled to attack the *Jews*, his irreconcilable enemies: accordingly, he went to *Caibar*, a strong town about six days journey north east of *Medina*, and took that, and several other strong places, whereto the *Jews* had retired, and brought a vast deal of wealth: this all fell into the hands of the *Moslems*. Being entertained at *Caibar*, a young *Jewess*, to try whether he were a prophet or not, as she said afterward, poisoned a shoulder of mutton, a joynt *Mahomet* was particularly fond of; so that one at the table named *Basher* died upon the spot: *Mahomet*, finding something disagreeable in the taste, spat it out, and said, this mutton tells me it is poisoned: the miracle-mongers improve this into a story that the shoulder of mutton spoke to him; but if it did, it spoke too late, for he had swallowed some of it, and complained of the effects of that morsel, in his last illness, of which he died three years after.

In this year, *Jannabi*^a mentions *Mahomet's* being bewitched by the *Jews*, who had made a waxen image of him, and hid it with a comb and a tuft of hair tied in eleven knots in a well: the prophet was in a very wasting condition, till he had a dream that informed where these implements of witchcraft were, and had them taken away: to untie

^a *Gagnier vie de Mahomet. v. 2. p. 43. Sale on the Coran. p. 508.*

the knots, *Gabriel* read to him the two last chapters of the *Alcoran*, consisting of eleven verses; each verse untied a knot, and, when all were untied, he recovered.

This year *Mahomet* had a seal made with this inscription, *Mohammed the apostle of God*: this was to seal his letters with, which he now took upon him to write to divers princes, to invite them to *Islam*: his first letter was sent to *Badham* viceroy of *Yemen*, to be forwarded to *Cosroes* King of *Persia*: *Cosroes* tore the letter, and ordered *Badham*, to restore the prophet to his right mind, or send him his head. *Cosroes* was presently after murdered by his son *Siroes*: *Badham* with his people turned *Moslems*, and *Mahomet* continued him in his government.

He sent a letter also to the Roman Emperor *Heraclius*, to the same purpose: *Heraclius* received the letter respectfully, and made some valuable presents to the messenger. He sent another to *Makawkas* viceroy of *Ægypt*, who returned in answer he would consider of the proposals, and sent, with some other presents, two young maidens: one of these named *Mary* of fifteen years of age, *Mahomet* debauched: whereat two of his wives *Haphsa* and *Ayesha* were greatly enraged, and he to pacify them, promised upon oath to do so no more; but was again taken by them transgressing with *Mary*: and now, that he might not stand in awe of his wives any longer, down comes a revelation in the Sixty sixth chapter of the *Alcoran*, to release the prophet from his oath, and allow him to lye with his maid; and the two wives of *Mahomet*, who, upon the quarrel about *Mary*, had gone home to their fathers, being threatned in the same
chapter

chapter with a divorce, were glad to send their fathers to him to make peace for them; that they might return to him again: and came and submitted to live with him upon his own terms.

Mahomet sent letters at the same time to the king of *Ethiopia*, who had before professed *Islam*; and repeated his profession of it in his answer. He wrote to two other *Arabian* princes, who sent him disagreeable answers, which provoked him to curse them: and to *Al Mondar*, king of *Babrain*, who came into his religion, and afterwards routed the *Persians*, and made a great slaughter of them: and now all the *Arabians* of *Babrain* became converts to his religion.

Among the captives taken at *Caibar*, was *Saphia*, betrothed to the son of *Kenana*, the king of the *Jews*, *Mahomet* took her to wife; and put *Kenana* to the torture, to make him discover his treasure. In the action at *Caibar*, it is said, *Ali*, having his buckler struck out of his hand, took one of the gates off its hinges, and used it for a buckler, till the place was taken: he that told this story said, that he and seven men tried to stir the gate, and were not able.

One of the articles of the peace being, that any *Moslem* might be permitted to perform his pilgrimage at *Mecca*, the prophet went to compleat the visitation of the holy places, which he could not do as he intended when at *Hodaiba*: the *Meccans* were talking to one another of his being weakened by the long marches he had made; he, to shew the contrary, in going round the *Caaba* seven times, went the first three rounds in a brisk trot, shaking his shoulders; but the four last circuits in a common

mon walking pace : and this was the reason of the seven circuits round the *Caaba*, being ever after performed by the *Moslems* in the same manner.

In the eighth year of the *Hejira*, *Caled* son of *Al Walid*, *Amru* son of *Al As*, and *Othman* son of *Telha*, who presided over the *Caaba*, became *Moslems* : this was a considerable addition to *Mahomet's* power and interest. The same year *Mahomet*, having sent a letter to the governour of *Bosra* in *Syria*, as he had to others, and his messenger being slain there, sent *Zaid*, son of *Hareth*, with 3000 men to *Muta* in *Syria* against the *Roman* army, which with their allies made a body of near 100000 men : *Zaid* being killed, the command fell to *Japber* ; and, he being killed, to *Abdollah* son of *Rawahas*, who was also killed : then the *Moslems* unanimously chose *Caled* to lead them : he defeated the enemy, and returned to *Medina* with a considerable booty : on which account *Mahomet* gave him the title of *the sword of God*.

The same year, the *Coreishites* assisted some of their allies against the *Cozaites*, who were in alliance with *Mahomet* ; this he resented as an infraction of the peace : *Abu Sophian* was sent to try to make up matters, but *Mahomet* would not vouchsafe to give him any answer ; but made preparation to fall upon them, before they could be prepared to receive him : when he was near *Mecca* he had about 10000 men with him ; *Abu Sophian* came out to reconnoitre, in the evening, when *Al Abbas*, who, out of friendship to his countrymen, had rode from the army, with an intent if he saw any stragling *Meccan* to bid him go back with the news of *Mahomet's* approach, and advise the *Meccans* to sur-

surrender ; hearing *Abu Sophians* voice, called to him, and advised him to get up behind him, and go with him ; and in all haste make his submission to *Mahomet* ; which he did, and, to save his life professed *Islam* : and was afterwards as zealous in propagating as he had hitherto been in opposing it.

Mahomet had given orders to enter *Mecca* peaceably ; but *Caled*, meeting with a party who let fly some arrows at him, fell upon them, and slew twenty eight of them : *Mahomet* sent one of his *helpers* to bid him desist from slaughter ; but the messenger delivered quite contrary orders, that he should fall upon them without mercy : afterwards, when *Mahomet* said to the *helper*, did not I bid you tell *Caled* not to kill any body in *Mecca* ? it is true, said the *helper*, and I would have done as you directed me, but God would have it otherwise ; and God's will was done.

When all was quiet, *Mahomet* went to the *Caaba*, and rode round it upon his Camel seven times ; and touched with his cane a corner of the black stone, with great reverence : he then lighted and went into the *Caaba*, and found there images of angels, and a figure of *Abraham* holding in his hand a bundle of arrows, which had been made use of for deciding things by lot ; these he had thrown down and broken in pieces. He went into the *Caaba*, and cried with a loud voice, *Allab acbar*, seven times, turning round to all the sides of the *Caaba* : then he appointed this to be the *Kebbla*, or place toward which the *Moslems* are to turn themselves when they pray. There were on the outside of the *Caaba* 360 idols, all which he destroyed ; and, mounting his Camel, he rode once
more

more seven times round the *Caaba*, and, lighting, bowed himself twice, and went to the well *Zemzem*, and from thence to the station of *Abraham*, where he stopt, and had a pail of water brought from *Zemzem*, of which he drank large draughts, and made the holy washing called *Wodhu*, and immediately his followers came running, and did likewise: purifying themselves and washing their faces. After this, *Mahomet*, standing at the door of the *Caaba*, made an harangue to this effect, there is no other God but God, who has fulfilled his promise to his servant, and who alone has put to flight his enemies, and put under my feet every thing that is visible around; men, animals, goods, riches; except only the government of the *Caaba*, and the keeping of the *cup* for the pilgrims to drink out of: O ye *Coreishites* God hath taken from you the pride of paganism, which caused you to worship our fathers *Abraham* and *Ismael*, as Deities; though they were men descended from *Adam*, who was created out of the earth. He had a mind to dispose of the overseeing of the *Caaba*, and took the keys of it from *Othman* the son of *Telba*, and was going to give them to *Al Abbas*, who had asked for them; but a direction came from heaven, in these words, *Give the charge to whom it belongs*: whereupon he sent the keys by *Ali* to *Othman*: *Othman*, agreeably surprised, thanked *Mahomet*, and made a new profession of his faith. The care of the pilgrim's cup he gave to *Al Abbas*, it is hereditary.

Then all the *Meccans* were summoned to the hill *Al Safa*, to *Mahomet*'s inauguration, where the prophet first took an oath to them; and then they
all,

all, first the men and then the women, took an oath to be faithful and obedient, to whatsoever he should command them: after this, calling an extraordinary assembly, he declared *Mecca* should be hence forward an *asylum* or inviolable sanctuary, where it should not be lawful to shed the blood of man, or even to cut down a tree.

The *Meccans*, after telling them they were his slaves by conquest, he pardoned, and declared them free: he proscribed eleven men and six women, of his most inveterate enemies; ordering his followers to kill them wherever they were found: most of them, embracing *Islam*, got their pardon: and were zealous *Moslems* ever after: one of them *Abdolla*, who had greatly offended him, was brought to *Mahomet* by *Othman*, who interceded for him; *Mahomet* pardoned him, and he professed *Islam*: but, before he granted his pardon, he kept silence a long time, in expectation, as he afterwards owned, that some of those about him would have fallen upon *Abdolla* and killed him: Three of the women embraced *Islam*, and were pardoned, the rest were killed: one of them crucified.

Mahomet sent out *Caled* and others to destroy the remaining idols among some of the tribes; and to invite them to *Islam*: *Caled* executed his commission with great brutality; the *Jodhamites* had formerly robbed and murdered *Caled's* uncle coming from *Arabia Felix*; *Caled* proposed *Islam* to them, but they cried out, they professed *Sabiism*: this was what he wanted, and immediately fell upon them; killing some, and making others prisoners, of whom he distributed some among his men: as for those he kept for himself, he tied their

their hands behind them, and put them all to the sword. On hearing of it, *Mahomet* lifted up his eyes, and protested his innocence as to this murder; and sent *Ali* with a sum of money to make satisfaction for the blood shed: and to restore the pillage: *Ali* paid to the surviving *Jodhamites* as much as was demanded, and generously gave the overplus among them; which action *Mahomet* applauded, and reproved *Caled* afterwards.

Upon *Mahomet's* having made a conquest of *Mecca*, many of the tribes of the *Arabs* came and submitted to him; but the *Hawazanites*, the *Tbakifites*, and part of the *Saadites*, assembled to the number of 4000 effective men, besides women and children, to oppose him. *Mahomet* went against them at the head of 12000 fighting men: at the first onset, the *Moslems* were received with a shower of arrows, and put to flight; *Mahomet*, with great courage, rallied his men, and obtained the victory. Among the captives there was one who said she was the daughter of *Mahomet's* nurse, the prophet, being by some mark satisfied of the truth of her pretensions, held out his cloak towards her, in token of his good will, gave her leave to return home, and furnished her liberally for her journey. The next considerable action was the siege of *Taief*, a town sixty miles east from *Mecca*: the *Moslems* lay before it; and, having made several breaches with their engines, marched resolutely up to them, but were vigorously repulsed by the besieged: *Mahomet* bade an herald cry, that if any of their slaves came to him, they should have their liberty; this brought over twenty three of them; he assigned to each a *Moslem* for a comrade: so inconsiderable

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considerable a desertion did not in the least abate the courage of the besieged ; so that the prophet began to despair of reducing the place, and, after a dream, which *Abubeker* interpreted unfavourably to the attempt, determined to raise the siege ; and ordered his men to prepare for a retreat : this occasioned a murmuring ; whereupon, he gave orders for them to be ready for an assault, the next day : the assault was made, but the assailants were beaten back, with great loss : to console them, he smiled and said, we will come here again, if it please God. When he came to *Jesana* where all the booty taken from the *Hawazanites* had been left, there came a deputation from them, to beg it might be restored : the prophet gave them their option, of having either the captives or their goods ; they chose to have their wives and children again ; and their goods were divided among the *Moslems* : then, to indemnify those who had parted with any slaves, he gave among them his own share of the goods ; and signified to *Malec* son of *Awf* their general, that, if he would come into *Islam*, he should have all his goods as well as his family, and a present of 100 camels besides : this brought him over to be so good a *Moslem*, that he had the command given him of all his countrymen who were converts ; and was very serviceable against the *Thakesites*.

The prophet, after this, made an holy visit to *Mecca*, where he appointed *Otab* son of *Osaid* governour ; though not quite twenty years of age ; *Maad* son of *Jabal* Imam, or chief priest, to teach the people *Islam*, and direct them in solemnizing the pilgrimage : and returned to *Medina*, where his concubine *Mary* brought him a son, whom he
named

named *Ibrahim*: celebrating his birth with a great feast: he lived but fifteen months.

In the ninth year of the *Hejira* there came several envoys from all parts of *Arabia* to *Mahomet* at *Medina*, to declare their readiness to profess his religion: at this time, *Caab* son of *Zohair*, who had been proscribed for some satyrical verses upon *Mahomet*, came and made his peace, with a poem in praise of him: it began thus,

Now does my happiness draw near ;
th' accepted day is in my view :

Mahomet, besides his pardon, gave him his cloak off his back ; which precious relique was purchased of his family by *Moawiyah* the *Caliph*, at an high price, and was worn by the *Caliphs*, on solemn occasions, till the irruption of the *Tartars*, in the year of the *Hejira* 656. *Gagnier*. in *Abul Fed*. p. 122.

The same year, *Mahomet*, with an army of 30000 men, marched towards *Syria*, to a place called *Tabuc*, against the *Romans* and *Syrians*, who were making preparation against him ; but, upon his approach, retreated : and the *Moslems* went back towards *Medina* : by the way, they took several forts of the christian *Arabs*, and made them tributaries : at his return to *Medina*, the *Thakefites*, having been blocked up in *Taief* by the *Moslem* tribes, sent deputies to offer to embrace *Islam*, upon condition, they might retain an idol their people were much bigotted to, a little longer ; *Mahomet* insisted upon its being immediately demolished : then they desired to be excused from using the *Moslems* prayers ; he answered very justly, that a religion without prayers was good for nothing : then they submitted absolutely.

In the ninth year of the *Hejira*, *Mahomet* sent *Abubeker* to *Mecca*, to perform the pilgrimage, and sacrifice twenty camels on his account. After him, he sent *Ali* to publish the ninth chapter of the *Alcoran*, which, though so placed in the present confused copy, is generally supposed to be the last that was revealed; it is called *Barat*, or *Immunity*: the purport of it is, that the *associators*^a with whom *Mahomet* had made a treaty, were obliged, after four months liberty of conscience, to embrace *Islam*, or pay tribute: the command is *when those holy months are expired, kill the idolaters wherever ye shall find them*: afterwards come these words, *if they repent and observe the times of prayer and give alms they are to be looked upon as your brethren in religion*: here we find the impostor, who at first pretended only to persuade, now he thought himself sufficiently strong to compel men into his religion, declare for making converts by force of arms: to publish this doctrine he could not have found a more proper person than his *vizir Ali*, see pag. 16. In the same chapter it is ordered, that no body should perform the holy circuits round the *Caaba*, without having on the sacred habit: and that no idolater should make the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. In consequence of this, no person except a *Mahometan*, dares approach the *Caaba*, on pain of death.

The following account of *Mahomet's* farewell pilgrimage, is from *Jaber* son of *Abdolla*,^b who was one of the company. The Apostle of God w. G. b. had not made the pilgrimage of nine years; (*for when he conquered Mecca he only made a visitation.*) In the tenth year of the *Hejira*, it was

^a V. p. 77. ^b *Gagnier*, Not. in *Abu'l Fedam*, p. 130.

published that he intended to go the pilgrimage : whereupon a prodigious multitude of people (*some make the number near 100000*) flocked from all parts to *Medina* : our chief desire was to follow the apostle of God, w. G. b. and imitate him : when we came to *Dbul Holaisa* ^a the apostle of God, w. G. b. prayed in the mosque there ; then mounted his camel, rode hastily to the plain *Baida*, and there began to praise God, in the form that professes his unity, saying, *Here I am, O God, ready to obey thee, thou hast no partner, &c.* when we came to the *Caaba*, he kissed the corner of the black stone, went seven times round, three times in a trot, four times walking, then went to the station of *Abraham*, and came again to the black stone and kissed it : then went through the gate of the sons of *Madbumi* to the hill *Safa* ; and went up it, till he could see the *Caaba*, and, turning towards the *Kebla*, professed again the unity of God ; saying, *there is no God but one, his is the kingdom, to him be praises, he is powerfull above every thing, &c.* then he went down towards the hill *Merwan*, I all the way followed him : in the valley he went fast, and slow up the hill, till he came to the top of *Merwan* : from thence he went to the hill *Arafa* ; and, it being towards sunset, preached till the sun was set : then he went to *Mosdalefa*, between *Arafa* and the valley of *Mena*, and made the evening prayer, and the late prayer, with two

^a There are different places where the pilgrims from different parts put off their cloaths, and put on the sacred habit ; which, being a penitential one, consists of two course woollen wrappers, according to *Salé* : *Bobovius* says, it is made like a surplice : if so, it is only one large wrapper ; for it must not be sewed. v. *Pocock. spec. hist. Arab. p. 316.*

calls to prayer, and two risings up : then he lay down till the dawn, and made the morning prayer : then went to the enclosure of the *Caaba*, and stood there till it grew very light : and then went hastily, before the sun was up, to the valley called *Mena* ; and threw seven stones, repeating at each throw, *God is great, &c.* and from thence went to the place of sacrificing ; and slew sixty three victims^a with his own hand, being then sixty three years old ; he also made free sixty three slaves : then he ordered *Ali* to sacrifice so many more victims as to make the number 100 :^b then the apostle shaved his head, beginning on the right side of it, and finishing on the left, and cast his hair upon a tree, that the wind might scatter it among the people : *Caled* snatched part of the forelock and fixed it upon his *turban*, the virtue whereof he experienced in every battle he afterwards fought : then the apostle ordered the limbs of the victims to be boiled, sat down, only he and *Ali*, to eat some of the flesh ; and drank some of the broth : then he mounted his camel again and rode to the *Caaba*, where he made the noon-tide prayer, and drank seven large draughts of the well *Zemzem*, made seven circuits round the *Caaba*, and concluded his career between the hills *Safa* and *Merwan*.

The ninth day of the feast, he went to perform his devotions on the hill *Arafa* : this hill, situated

^a *Mahomet's* victims were camels : *Jannabi* apud *Gagnier* vie de *Mahomet*, vol. 2. p. 265. they may be sheep or goats ; then they must be male : if camels or kine, female. *Sale* prelim. disc. p. 120. ^b *Ludovicus Patricius Romanus*, who feigning himself a *Moslem*, was present at a pilgrimage, says the remainder of the sacrificed sheep, that was not eaten by those who furnished them, was given to the poor, who were very numerous. lib. 1. cap. 13.

about a mile from *Mecca*, is held in great veneration by the *Moslems*, as a place very proper for penitence; because they believe that *Adam* and *Eve*, when banished out of paradise, were parted from each other, in order to do penance for their transgression; and after a separation of six score years, met again upon this mountain.

At the conclusion of this *farewell pilgrimage*, as it was called, being the last he ever made, *Mahomet* reformed the calendar in two points: 1, he appointed the year to be exactly lunar, consisting of twelve lunar months, whereas, before, they used to make every third year consist of thirteen months; in order to reduce the lunar to the solar year: 2, whereas the ancient *Arabians* held 4 months sacred, wherein it was unlawful to commit any act of hostility, he took away that prohibition, by this command, *attack the idolaters in all the months of the year, as they attack you in all.* *Alcor.* c. 9:

In the 11th year of the *Hejira*, there arrived an ambassage from *Arabia Fælix*, of about 100 who had embraced *Islam*. The same year, *Mahomet* ordered *Osama* to go to the place where *Zaid* his father was slain at the battle of *Muta*, and revenge his death: this was the last expedition ordered by him; for, two days after, he was taken ill, and died in thirteen days: the beginning of his sickness was a slow fever, which made him delirous; whereupon he called for pen ink and paper, and said, *He would write a book that should keep them from erring after his death.* *Omar* oppos'd it, saying the *Alcoran* is sufficient, and that the prophet, through the greatness of his malady, knew not what he said: others express a desire he might write;

write; whereon a contention arose, that so disturbed *Mahomet* that he bid them be gone: during his illness, he complained of the bit he had swallowed at *Caibar*. Some say, when he was dying, *Gabriel* told him, the angel of death, who never before had been, nor would ever again be so ceremonious towards any body, asked his leave to come in; *Mahomet* answered, *I give him leave*: the angel of death farther complimented the prophet, and told him, God was very desirous to have him, but had commanded he should take his soul or leave it, just as he himself should please to order: *Mahomet* replied, *Take it then*.

On his death, there was great confusion among his followers: some said, *he was not dead, but only taken away for a season; and would return again as Jesus did*. And called out, do not bury the apostle of God, for he is not dead: *Omar* was so much of that mind, that he drew his sword, and swore he would cut any body in pieces who should say the prophet was dead. *Abubeker* came in and said, *Do you worship Mahomet or the God of Mahomet? the God of Mahomet is immortal; but as for Mahomet he is certainly dead*: and proved, by several places in the *Alcoran*, that he was to die as well as other men; and not to return to life till the general resurrection: this shews that it is a vulgar error to believe the *Moslems* expect *Mahomet's* return upon earth. When this disorder was over, another and more violent contest arose about his burial: the *refugees*, who had accompanied him in his flight from *Mecca*, would have had him buried there, the place of his birth: the *helpers* or *Medinians* were for burying him at *Medina*, where
he

he had been kindly received, in his flight : the dispute ran so high, that they were near coming to blows ; when *Abubeker* put an end to it, by telling them, he had often heard the apostle say, that prophets should be buried in the place where they died : accordingly, his grave was digged under the bed whereon he lay, in the chamber of *Ayesha*. The *Arabian* writers are very particular in their accounts of washing his body, and perfuming it ; who digged his grave, who put him in, &c. *Gagnier*.^a

They minutely describe *Mahomet*'s person : they say he was of a middle stature, had a large head, thick beard, black eyes, hook'd nose, wide mouth, a thick neck, flowing hair. They mention what was called the seal of his apostleship to have been an hairy mole as large as a pigeon's egg, between his shoulders, which disappeared at his death : From whence, it seems, some who would not believe it before, concluded he was dead. His intimate *Abu Horaira* said, he never saw a more beautiful man than the prophet. He was so revered by his bigotted disciples, that, when he spat, they would gather it up and swallow it. *Abu'l Fed*.

The same writers extoll *Mahomet* for a man of fine parts, and a strong memory, of few words, of a cheerful aspect, affable and complaisant in his behaviour : they celebrate him for his justice, clemency, generosity, modesty, abstinence, and humility ; and, as an instance of the last mentioned virtue, tell us he mended his own cloaths and shoes : whereas, from his actions related by the same writers, we must be convinced, that he was a very subtle

^a Not. in *Abu'l Fedam*, p. 140. & *vie de Mahom.* vol. 2. p. 299.
and

and crafty man, who put on the appearance only of those good qualities; while the governing principles of his soul were ambition and lust: for we see him, as soon as he found himself strong enough to be upon the offensive, plundering *caravans*; and, under a pretence of fighting for the true religion, attacking, murdering, enslaving, and making tributary his neighbours, in order to aggrandise and enrich himself and his greedy followers: and without scruple making use of assassination to cut off those who opposed him. Of his lustful disposition, we have a sufficient proof, in the peculiar privileges he claimed to himself, of having as many wives as he pleased; and some of them such as were within forbidden degrees of affinity: they that mention the smallest number of his wives, own him to have had fifteen; whereas the *Alcoran* allows no *Moslem* above four; he used to say his chief pleasures were perfumes and women.

The *Alcoran* is held by the *Mahometans* in very great veneration: the book must not be touched by any body but a *Moslem*; nor by him, except he be free from any legal pollution: it has been a controversy among them which has been the occasion of some violent persecutions, whether it be created or uncreated; the most orthodox opinion is, that the original has been written from all eternity on *the preserved table*. They believe that a transcript of it entire was brought down to the lower heaven, (*of the moon*) by the angel *Gabriel*: and from thence taken and shewn to *Mahomet*, once every year of his mission; and twice the last year of his life: but that the several parts of it were, by the same angel, revealed to him by piece-meal; at which times,

times, he dictated what was revealed to his secretary, who wrote it down: and what was thus written was communicated to his disciples, to get by heart; and then deposited in what he called the chest of his apostleship: which chest was left in the custody of his wife *Haphsa*. How the present book was compiled, partly out of these detached scraps, and partly out of the memories of his companions, may be seen in our author, vol. I. p. 101.

When we consider, in what manner the *Alcoran* was compiled, we cannot wonder it should be so incoherent a piece as we find it: the book is divided into chapters; some of them very long ones: a few of them, especially towards the end, very short: each chapter has a title prefixt, taken from the first word, or from some particular thing mentioned therein; rarely from the subject matter of it: for, if a chapter be of any length, it usually runs into various subjects that have no connection one with another. A celebrated commentator divides the contents of the *Alcoran* into three general heads: 1, *precepts* or directions; relating either to religion; as prayers, fasting, pilgrimages: or civil polity, as marriages, inheritances, judicatures: 2, *histories*: whereof some are taken from the scriptures, but falsified with fabulous additions: others are false stories, that have no foundation in history. 3, *admonitions*: under which, come exhortations to receive *Islam*; to fight for it: to practise the duties of it, prayer, alms, &c. to practise moral duties; justice, temperance, &c. promises of everlasting felicity to the obedient: dissuaves from sin: threatnings of the punishments of hell to the unbelieving and disobedient. Many of the threatnings are

are levelled against particular persons, and those some times of *Mahomet's* own family, who had opposed him, in propagating his religion.

In the *Alcoran* God is brought in saying, *we have given you a book*: by this it appears, that the impostor published early, in writing, some of his principal doctrines: as also some of his historical relations. Thus, in his life, p. 17, we find, his disciples reading the 20th chapter of the *Alcoran*, before his flight from *Mecca*; after which he pretended many of the revelations inserted in other chapters were brought to him: undoubtedly, all those said to be revealed at *Medina* must be posterior to what he had then published at *Mecca*; because he had not yet been at *Medina*. Many parts of the *Alcoran* he declared were brought by the angel *Gabriel* occasionally; whereof we have had some instances in his life: the commentators often explain passages in that book, by saying on what occasion they were revealed; which, without that key, would be perfectly unintelligible.

There are several contradictions in the *Alcoran*; to reconcile which, the *Moslem* doctors have invented the doctrine of *abrogation*: i. e. that what was revealed at one time, was revoked by a new revelation. A great deal of it is so absurd, trifling, and full of tautology, that it requires some patience to read much of it at a time. Notwithstanding which, it is cried up by the *Moslems*, as inimitable: and in the 17th chapter of the *Alcoran*, *Mahomet* is commanded to say, *Verily if men and genii were purposely assembled, that they might produce any thing like the Coran, they could not produce any thing like unto it; though they assisted one another*: accordingly,

ly, when the Impostor was called upon, as he often was, to work miracles, in proof of his divine mission; he excused himself, by various pretences: and appealed to the *Alcoran*, as a standing miracle. Each chapter of the *Alcoran* is divided into verses; that is, lines of different length, terminated with the same letter, so as to make a rime: but without any regard to the measure of the syllables, as to long and short.

The Mahometan religion consists of two parts, faith and practice, faith they divide into six articles: 1, a belief in the unity of God, in opposition to those whom they call *associators*; by which name they mean not only those who, besides the true God, worship idols, or inferior gods or goddeses, but the christians also, who hold our blessed Saviours divinity, and the doctrine of the Trinity. 2, a belief of angels; to whom they attribute various shapes, names, and offices, borrowed from the *Jews* and *Persians*. 3, the scriptures. 4, the prophets: the *Alcoran* teaches that God revealed his will to various prophets, in divers ages of the world, and gave it in writing to *Adam*, *Seth*, *Enoch*, *Abraham*, &c. but these are lost: that he gave, afterwards, the pentateuch to *Moses*, the psalms to *David*, the gospel to *Jesus*, and the *Alcoran* to *Mahomet*: it speaks with great reverence of *Moses* and *Jesus*, but says the scriptures left by them have been greatly mutilated and corrupted: under this pretence, it adds a great many fabulous relations to the history contained in those sacred books; and charges the *Jews* and *Christians* with suppressing many prophecies concerning *Mahomet*: a calumny easily refuted, the scriptures having been translated into various languages,

guages, long before *Mahomet* was born. 5, the fifth article of belief is the resurrection and day of judgment, the *Mahometan* divines have various opinions about an intermediate state: the happiness promised to the *Moslems* in paradise is quite sensual; as fine gardens, rich furniture, every thing sparkling with gems and gold, delicious fruits, and wines that neither cloy nor intoxicate, but above all, the fruition of amorous delights, with women having large black eyes, and every way of exquisite beauty, who shall ever continue young, and without any imperfection: and here the impostor consulted the taste of his countrymen, who are noted by a *Roman* historian^a as much given to lechery. Some of their writers speak of these females of paradise in very high strains; as, that if one of them were to look down from heaven in the night, she would illuminate the earth as the sun does: and if she did but spit into the ocean, it would immediately be turned as sweet as honey. These delights of paradise were all, at first, certainly understood literally: ^b though the *Mahometan* divines have since allegoriz'd them into a spiritual sense. The punishments threatned to the wicked are hell fire, breathing hot winds, drinking boiling and stinking water, eating briars and thorns, and the bitter fruit of the tree *Zacom*, which will be in their bellies like boiling pitch: and these to be everlasting, except to those who embrace *Islam*: for they, after suffering a number of years, in proportion to their demerits, if they have had but so much faith as is equal to the weight of an ant, are to be released by the mercy of God, and the intercession of *Mahomet*, and admitted into paradise.

^a *Amnianus Marcellinus*. ^b See the history vol. i. p. 189. vol. 2. p. 168, 300.

The sixth article of belief is, that God decrees every thing that is to happen, not only all events, but the actions and thoughts of men, their belief, or infidelity: that every thing that has or will come to pass has been, from eternity, written in *the preserved* or secret table, which is a white stone of an immense largeness, in heaven, near the throne of God; agreeably to this notion, one of their poets thus expresses himself;

‘ Whatever is written against thee will come to pass, what is written for thee shall not fail; resign thyself to God, and know thy Lord to be powerful, his decrees will certainly take place; his servants ought to be silent.’

Of their four fundamental points of practice, the first is *prayer*, this duty is to be performed five times in the twenty four hours: 1, in the morning before sun-rise. 2, when noon is past. 3, a little before sun-set. 4, a little after sun-set. 5, before the first watch of the night. Previous to their prayers, they are always to purify themselves by *washing*: on occasion of some kinds of pollution, the whole body must be immersed in water, but commonly some parts only, the head, the face and neck, hands and feet, are to be washed: in this latter ablution, called *Wodbu*, fine sand or dust may be used, when water cannot be had; laying the palm of the hand upon the sand, and then drawing it over the part required to be washed. The *Mahometans*, though, out of respect to the divine Majesty before whom they are to appear, they must be clean and decent, when they go to publick prayers, in their *mosques*; are forbidden to go in sumptuous apparel, particularly cloaths trimmed with gold or silver; lest they should

should seem vain or arrogant : their women are not allowed to be in their *mosques*, at the same time with the men : they think this would make their thoughts wander from their proper business there ; and reproach the Christians with the impropriety of the contrary usage. The next point of practice is *alms-giving* : which is frequently commanded in the *Alcoran*, and looked upon to be highly meritorious : and many of them have been very exemplary in the performance of this duty. The third point of practical religion is *fasting* the whole month *Ramadan*, during which, they are every day to abstain from eating, or drinking, or touching a woman, from day-break to sun-set ; after that, they are at liberty to enjoy themselves, as at other times : old persons and children are excepted : any one that is sick or on a journey in this month is excused ; as are women also that are breeding, or giving suck : but then the person thus dispensed with must expiate the omission, by fasting an equal number of days, in some other month ; and by giving alms to the poor. There are also some other days of fasting, which are, by the more religious, observed in the manner above described. The last practical duty is going the *pilgrimage to Mecca* : this every man who is able is obliged to perform once in his life : in the ceremonies of it, they copy after the pilgrimage of *Mahomet*, described p. 68. a pilgrimage can be made only in the month *Dhul-bagja* ; but a *visitation to Mecca* may be made at any other time of the year.



THE SARACENS CONQUEST

OF

Syria, Persia, and Ægypt.

Abubeker, First Caliph after *Mahomet*. *Abubeker.*

MAHOMET, the great Impostor, and Founder of the Saracenic Empire, died at *Medinah*, on ¹ Monday the sixth of *June*, in the Year of our Lord Six Hundred and thirty-two; being the twenty-second Year of the Reign of *Heraclius* the Grecian Emperor. After he was dead, the next Care to be taken was for a Successor; and it was indeed very necessary that there should be one provided as soon as might be: for their Government and Religion being both, as yet, very tender, and a great many of *Mahomet's* Followers being no great Bigots, as not having yet forgotten their ancient Rites and Customs, but rather forced to leave them for Fear, than upon any Conviction; Affairs were in such a Posture as could by no means admit of an In-

Hegjrah XI.
A. D. 632

¹ *Elmakin*, chap. i.

A

terregnum.

Abubeker. *terregnum.* Wherefore the ² same Day that he expired, the Muslemans met together in order to the Election of a *Caliph* or Successor. In which Assembly there had like to have been such a Fray, as might, in all Probability, had not *Omar* and *Abubeker* timely interposed, have greatly endangered, if not proved the utter Ruin of this new Religion and Polity. For this false Prophet of theirs having left no positive Directions concerning a Successor, or at least, they not being known to any but his Wives, who in all Probability might conceal them out of their Partiality in Favour of *Omar*, a hot Dispute arose between the Inhabitants of *Meccah* and *Medinah*: Those of *Meccah* claiming most Right in the Prophet, as being his Countrymen and Relations, and having embraced his Religion first; and not only so, but having accompanied him in his Flight for Religion from *Meccah* to *Medinah*, when he, being persecuted at *Meccah*, was forced to make his Escape with manifest Hazard of his Life. They urged that nothing could be of so great Use to his Person and Cause, as this Service of theirs, and consequently none could pretend to have so great a Right of naming a Successor as themselves. The Inhabitants of *Medinah*, with no less Ve-

* *Elmakin. Abu'lpharagius.*

hemency,

hemency, urged that the Prophet and their Religion were as much oblig'd to them as to the others, because they had received him in his Flight, and by their Help and Assistance put him in a Capacity of making Head against his powerful Enemies; and that they had as much a Right in the Prophet as any others whatsoever, for protecting him in the time of his Adversity, and upon that score insisted upon the Right of electing a *Caliph*. In short, they came to Daggers drawing, and were just upon falling from Words to Blows, when one of the ³ *An-sars*, or Inhabitants of *Medinah*, a Man something more moderate than the rest, fearing the Consequences of this Disturbance, call'd out in the midst of the Company, that they would have two Caliphs, that is, each Party one. But *Abubeker* and the rest of the *Mohagerins* or Inhabitants of *Meccah*, did by no means approve of such an Accommodation, being desirous that the whole Government should remain in the Hands of their own Party. Then *Abubeker* stepped forth and told them, that he would name two Persons, and they should chuse which of them both Parties could agree upon. The one was *Omar*, the other *Abu Obeid*. Upon which Motion the Company was again divid-

³ Arab. *The Helpers*, because they helped *Mahomet* when he fled to *Medinah*.

Abubeker.

ed, and the Contention renewed afresh, one Party still crying out for the one, and the other for the other. At last *Omar* being wearied out, and seeing no Likelihood of deciding the Matter, was willing to give over, and bad *Abubeker* give him his Hand; which he had no sooner done, but *Omar* promised him Fealty. The rest all followed his Example, and so by the Consent of both Parties *Abubeker* was at last saluted Caliph, and acknowledg'd the rightful Successor of their Prophet *Mahomet*, and was now absolute Judge of all Causes both Sacred and Civil. And thus that Difference was at last, with much ado, compos'd, which had like to have been fatal to Mahometanism. And certainly it was a very great Oversight in *Mahomet* not to name a Successor positively and publickly all the time of his Sickness; which if he had done, his Authority had without question determin'd the Business, and prevented that Disturbance, by which the Religion which he had been planting with so much Difficulty and Hazard, had like to have been endanger'd.

⁴ One Author tells us, that *Mahomet*, when he was sick, commanded some that were about him to bid *Abubeker* say Prayers publickly in the Congregation: Which Desire of his to have

⁴ *Abmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbihi*, M. S. Arab. Huntington. Num. 554.

Abubeker officiate in his Place, looks very much as if he design'd he should succeed him; and was so understood by his Wives *Ayesha* and *Haphsab*, who were both present when *Mahomet* gave this Order, and endeavour'd what they could to have it revok'd. For as soon as *Mahomet* had spoken, *Ayesha* told him, that if *Abubeker* went into his Place (meaning the Pulpit from which he us'd to speak to the People) the Congregation would not be able to hear him for weeping, and desir'd him to order *Omar* to go up; which he refusing, *Ayesha* spoke to *Haphsab* to second her. The Importunity of them both put the Prophet into such a violent Passion, that he told them they were as bad as *Joseph's* Mistress, and commanded them again to send *Abubeker*. To which *Haphsab* answer'd, *O Apostle of God, now thou art sick, and hast preferr'd Abubeker*. He answer'd, *'Tis not I that have given him the Preference, but God.*

The Contest which happen'd immediately after his Decease makes it evident, that these Words of his had no Influence in the Election of *Abubeker*, but that it was chiefly owing to *Omar's* Resignation. Who notwithstanding that he was the first that propos'd *Abubeker* to the Assembly, and own'd him as *Caliph*, did not so well approve afterwards of that Choice, which

Abubeker. Necessity put him upon at that critical Juncture, as appears by what he said: The Contents of which were, ^s “ That he pray’d to God
 “ to avert the ill Consequences, which it was
 “ to be feared would follow upon such an indiscreet Choice. That if ever any one should
 “ do such a Thing again, he would deserve
 “ Death; and if any one should ever swear
 “ Fealty to another without the Consent of the
 “ rest of the Muslemans, both he that took the
 “ Government upon him, and he that swore to
 “ him, ought to be put to Death.” These, and other such like Expressions, were evident Signs of his Dislike; but it being done and past, there was no other Remedy, but to sit down at quiet, and rest himself contented.

Now though the Government was actually settled upon *Abubeker*, yet all Parties were not equally satisfied; for a great many were of Opinion, that the Right of Succession did belong to *Ali*, the Son of *Abu Taleb*. Upon which account the Mahometans were ever since that time divided; some maintaining that *Abubeker*, and those other two, *Omar* and *Othman*, that came after him, were the rightful and lawful Successors; and others disclaiming their Title altogether as Usurpers, and constantly asserting the Right of *Ali*. Of the former Opinion are

^s *Abn'lpharagius.*

the *Turks* at this Day; of the latter, the *Persians*. Which makes such a Difference between those two Nations, that notwithstanding their Agreement in other Points of their Superstition, they do upon this account treat one another as most damnable Hereticks. *Ali* had this to commend him, that he was *Mahomet's* Cousin German, and was the ⁶ first that embrac'd his Religion, except his Wife *Cadijah*, and his Slave *Zeid*, and besides was *Mahomet's* Son-in-Law, having married his Daughter *Phatemah*. *Abubeker* was *Mahomet's* Father-in-Law, and was very much respected by him, so that he gave him the Sirname of *Affiddick*, which signifies in *Arabick*, one that is a great Speaker of Truth ⁷, because he resolutely asserted the Truth of that Story which *Mahomet* told of his ⁸ going one Night to Heaven. And oftentimes he used to express a great deal of Kindness for him ⁹. Once as he saw him coming towards him, he said to those that were about him: *If any one takes delight in looking upon a Man that has escaped from the Fire of Hell, let him look upon Abubeker. God, whose Name be blessed, hath given Man his Choice of this World or that which is with Him, and this Servant* (meaning *Abube-*

⁶ *Elmakîn.* ⁷ *Elmakîn.* ⁸ *Alcoran, cahp. XVII. 1.*

⁹ *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dokmâk, M. S. Arab. Laud. Num. 806. 11.*

Abubeker. *ker*) hath chosen that which is with God. Such Marks of Esteem as these must needs procure him a great Respect from those who look'd upon *Mahomet* as a Person inspired, and the Apostle of God; and did without question facilitate his Promotion to the Dignity of *Caliph*.

Ali was not present at this Election, and when he heard the News, was not well pleas'd, as hoping that he should have been the Man.

Abubeker sent ¹ *Omar* to *Phatemah's* House, where *Ali* and some of his Friends were, with Orders to compel them to come in by Force, if they would not do it by fair means. *Omar* was just a going to fire the House, and *Phatemah* ask'd him, what he meant? He told her, that he would certainly burn the House down, unless they would be content to do as the rest of the People had done. Upon which *Ali* came forth and went to *Abubeker* and acknowledged his Sovereignty ², tho' he did not forget to tell him, that he wondered he would take such a thing without his notice. To which *Abubeker* answer'd, that the Exigency of the Matter was such as would by no means admit of Deliberation, because if it had not been done on a sudden, 'twas to be fear'd that the Government would have been wrung out of their Hands by

¹ *Ismael Abu'lpheda Kitab Almoctâfer phi Acbari'lbasbar.*
M. S. Arab. Pocock. Num. 330. ² *Abu'lpharagius.*

the opposite Party. And, to make things slide the more easily, seem'd to be desirous of quitting his Charge and resigning the Government: And so goes up into the Pulpit, and there openly before them all desir'd, that they would give him Leave to resign and confer that Charge upon some more worthy Person; but *Ali*, fearing the ill Will of the People, ³ whose Minds he perceiv'd were estranged from him, for having already stood it out so long, and being loath to make any new Disturbance, utterly refus'd to hear of it, and told him, that they would neither depose him themselves, nor desire that he should resign. And thus things were pretty well accommodated, and those of *Medinah*, as well as those of *Meccah*, consented to own *Abubeker*, as the true and rightful Successor of their Prophet *Mahomet*; only *Ali*, tho' he made no stir, look'd upon himself as injur'd ⁴, and there is a Story told by Tradition, which is reported to have been deliver'd by *Ayesha*, that *Ali* did not come in till after the Decease of his Wife *Phatemah*, who liv'd 6 Months after the Death of *Mahomet* her Father.

Abubeker.

⁵ *Abubeker* being thus fix'd in his new Government, had Work enough to secure it; for the *Mahometan* Religion had not as yet taken

³ *Elmakîn*, Chap. 2. ⁴ *Abu'lpheda* ⁵ *Abu'lpharagius*.

such

Abubeker.

such deep Root in the Hearts of Men, but that they would very willingly have shaken it off again, if they had known how. The *Arabians* therefore, being a People of an unquiet restless Disposition, would not omit this Opportunity of rebelling, which they thought was fairly offer'd them by the Death of *Mahomet*, but immediately take Arms, and refuse to pay the usual Tribute, Tithes and Alms, and begin to neglect those Rites and Customs, which had been impos'd upon them by *Mahomet*. *Abubeker*, and those about him at *Medinab*, took the Alarm, and fearing a general Revolt, and expecting no less than to be beset on every Side, began to consider which way they might best provide for the Security of themselves and their Families. In order to which, they dispos'd of their Women and Children, and such others as were not able to bear Arms, in the Clefts and Cavities of the Rocks and Mountains, and put themselves in a Posture of Defence. In the mean time, *Abubeker* sends *Caled Ebn Waled*, with an Army of four thousand and five hundred Men, to suppress the Rebels, who having routed them in a set Battle, brought off a great deal of Plunder, and made Slaves of their Children.

⁶ The chief amongst those that refus'd to pay the *Zacât*, which is that part of a Man's Sub-

⁵ *Abu'lpheda.*

stance,

stance, which is consecrated to God, as Tithes, Alms, and the like, and is strictly enjoyn'd by the Mahometan Law, was *Malec Ebn Noweirah*, a Man that made a considerable Figure in those Days, being the chief of an eminent Family among the *Arabs*, and celebrated for his Skill in Poetry, as well as his Manhood and Horsemanship. *Abubeker* sent *Caled* to him, to talk with him about it, *Malec* told him, *that he could say his Prayers without paying that*. *Caled* ask'd him, if he did not know that Prayers and Alms must go together, and that the one would not be accepted without the other? What! does your Master say so? says *Malec*? Then don't you own him for your Master? said *Caled*; and swore that he had a good Mind to strike his Head off. They disputed the Matter a while; and, at last, *Caled* told him he should die. Did your Master say so? says *Malec*. What! again? says *Caled*, and resolv'd upon his Death, tho' *Abdo'llah Ebn Amer* and *Kobâdab* interceded for him in vain. When *Malec* saw there was no way for him to escape, he turn'd him about, and look'd upon his Wife, who was a Woman of admirable Beauty, and said, *This Woman has kill'd me*. Nay, says *Caled*, *God has kill'd thee, because of thy Apostacy from the true Religion*. I profess the true Religion, says *Malec*, meaning the Mahometan. The Word

Abubeker.

was

Abubeker. was no sooner out of his Mouth, but *Caled* order'd *Derar Ben Alazwar*, a Person we shall see more of hereafter, to strike his Head off. At which *Abubeker* was very much concern'd, and would have put *Caled* to Death, if *Omar* had not interceded for him ; And indeed he did out of his great Zeal exceed the Limits of his Commission ; for *Mahomet* himself would have pardon'd an Apostate, provided he had been very well assur'd of his Repentance.

Having this Opportunity of mentioning this great Man *Caled*, we must not pass him by, without taking some Notice of his Character. He was the best General of the Age he liv'd in, and it was to his Courage and Conduct that the Saracens chiefly owe the subduing of the Rebels, the Conquest of *Syria*, and the Establishment of their Religion and Polity. 'Tis to be question'd whether his Love and Tenderneſs towards his own Soldiers, or his Hatred and Aversion to the Enemies of the Mahometan Religion, was greatest ; for upon all Occasions he us'd to give very signal Instances of both. He was a most irreconcilable and implacable Enemy to those who had once embrac'd the Mahometan Religion, and then apostatiz'd ; nor would he spare them, tho' shewing the greatest Signs of unfeigned Repentance. His Valour was so surprising, that the *Arabs* call'd him *The Sword of God* ;

God; which Sir-name of his was known also to his Enemies, and is ⁷ mention'd as well by *Greek* as *Arab* Authors. If it did at any time (which was not often) carry him beyond the Bounds of his Conduct, it always brought him off safe again. He never, in the greatest Danger lost his wonted Presence of Mind, but could as well extricate himself, and his Men from present Difficulties, as prevent future ones.

By him the Rebels being suppress'd, the Mahometans were in some measure eas'd of the Fear they stood in before, but there were still more Difficulties behind; for about this time several, perceiving the Success and Prosperity of *Mahomet* and his Followers, set up for Prophets too, in Hopes of the like good Fortune, and making themselves eminent in the World: Such were *Osud Alabbasi* and *Tuleibab Ebn Choweiced*, with several others, which quickly came to nothing. But the most considerable of these was *Moseilam*, who had emulated *Mahomet* in his Life-time, and trump up a Book in Imitation of the *Alcoran*. He had formerly been ⁸ with *Mahomet*, and profess'd himself of his Religion, and might have been Partner with him in his Imposture; but looking upon that to be beneath him, he utterly renounc'd all further

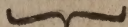
Abubeker.

⁷ Ἐξήλθεν δὲ εἰς Ἀμερῶς ὁ Χάλιδος ἐν λίγῃσι μάχαιραις τῷ Θεῷ.
Theophanes, p. 278. Edit. Paris. ⁸ *Abu'lpheda*.

Abubeker.

Familiarity and Correspondence with him, and was resolv'd to set up for himself, which he did the Year before *Mahomet* died. He had now gather'd together a very considerable Body of Men in *Yemamah*, a Province of *Arabia*, and began to be so formidable, that the Muslemans were under some Apprehensions of his growing Greatness, and did not think it any way consistent with Prudence to neglect him any longer, knowing very well, that as soon as he should be strong enough, they and their Religion would quickly come to nothing. They therefore thought it most adviseable to set upon him first, and rather hazard the Event of a Battle at the Beginning, than by suffering him to go on too long, and gather more Strength, frustrate all Manner of Hopes of a victory. Upon this they move *Abubeker* to send sufficient Forces, under the Conduct of some experienc'd Commander, in order to destroy him. *Abukeker* forthwith dispatches *Akramah* and ⁹ *Sergil*, with an Army, and Order to march directly towards *Yemamah*. After them he sends *Caled*, the Scourge of Rebels, Apostates and false Prophets, who having join'd Forces with them, they had an Army of ¹ forty thousand Muslemans. *Moseilam*, in the mean time, was not idle, and knowing that his Life and Reputation were now at Stake,

⁹ Or rather, *Serjabil*. ¹ *Elmakin*.



prepar'd to give them Battle. The Muslemans² encamped at a Place called *Akreba*; and *Moseilam* with his Army, was just opposite to them. They drew near as fast they could, and *Moseilam* charged the Muslemans with such Fury, that they were not able to make good their Ground against him, but were forced to retire with the Loss of twelve hundred Men. The Muslemans rather provoked than discouraged by this Defeat, not long after renewed the Fight, and then began a most bloody Battle, *Moseilam* all the while behaving himself courageously, was at last thrust thro' with a Javelin, (³ the same with which *Hamza*, *Mahomet's* Uncle, was kill'd) by a Slave, a Black. He being dead, the Victory easily enclined to the Muslemans; who having killed the false Prophet, and ten thousand of his Men, and obliged those that were left to turn Mahometans, returned to *Medinah*, the Seat of the *Caliph*, richly laden with the Spoil of their Enemies.

This same Year, being the first of *Abubeker's* Reign, *Al Ola* was sent with a considerable Army to reduce the Rebels in *Babrein*, which he did without any great Difficulty, killing a great many of them, and seizing their Effects, so that a great many of them chose rather to return to the Mahometan Superstition, which

² *Abu'lpharagius.* ³ *Abu'lpheda.*

Abubeker.

upon the Death of *Mahomet* they had forsaken, than expose themselves, by obstinately standing it out, to all the Miseries and Calamities of War.

'Tis strange and surprising, to consider from how mean and contemptible Beginnings the greatest things have, by the Providence of God, been raised in a short time, of which the Saracenical Empire is a very considerable Instance ; for if we look back about eleven Years, we shall find how *Mahomet*, unable to support his Cause, routed and oppress'd by the powerful Party of the *Korashites* at *Meccah*, attended by a very small Number of his despairing Followers, fled to *Medinah*, no less for the Preservation of his Life, than his Imposture ; And now, within so short a time after, we find the Undertakings of his Successor prosper so much beyond Expectation, as to become a Terror to all his Neighbours ; and the Saracens in a Capacity, not only of keeping in their own Hands their *Peninsula* of *Arabia*, but of extending their Arms over larger Territories, than ever were subject to the *Romans* themselves. Whilst they were employed in *Arabia*, they were little regarded by the Grecian Emperor, who now too late felt them pouring in upon him like a Torrent, and driving all before them. The proud *Persian* too, who so very lately had been domineering in
Syria,

Syria, and sacked *Jerusalem* and *Damascus*, must be forc'd to part with his own Dominions, and submit his Neck to the Saracenic Yoke. It may be reasonably suppos'd, that, had the Empire been in the same flourishing Condition as it had been formerly, they might have been checked at least, if not extinguish'd: But besides that the Western Empire had been torn away by the barbarous *Goths*, the Eastern part of it had received so many Shocks from the *Hunns* on the one side, and the *Persians* on the other, that it was not in a Capacity to stop the Violence of such a powerful Invasion⁴. In the Emperor *Mauricius* his Time, the Empire paid Tribute to the *Chagân* or King of the *Hunns*⁵. And after *Phocas* had murder'd his Master, such lamentable havock there was among the Soldiers, that when *Heraclius* came (not much above seven Years after) to muster the Army, there were only two Soldiers left alive, of all those who bore Arms when *Phocas* first usurped the Empire. And tho' *Heraclius* was a Prince of admirable Courage and Conduct, and had done what possibly could be done to restore the Discipline of the Army, and had had great Success against the *Persians*, so as to drive them not only out of his Dominions, but even out

Abubeker.

⁴ *Theophylactus Simocatta, Histor. Maurician.* ⁵ *Theophanes in the Life of Heraclius.*

Abubeker. of their own; yet still the very Vitals of the Empire seem'd to be mortally wounded; that there could no time have happen'd more fatal to the Empire, nor more favourable to the Enterprises of the *Saracens*, who seem to have been raised up on purpose by God to be a Scourge to the Christian Church, for not living answerably to that most Holy Religion which they had received.

Abubeker had now set Affairs at home in pretty good Order. The Apostates, which upon the Death of *Mahomet* had revolted to the Idolatry in which they were born and bred up, were reduc'd. The Forces of *Moseilamah*, the false Prophet, were broken to Pieces, and himself killed; so that there was little or nothing left to be done in *Arabia*. For tho' there were a great many Christian *Arabs*, as particularly the Tribe of *Gassân*, yet they were generally employ'd in the *Grecian* Emperor's Service. So that the next Business the Caliph had to do, was, pursuant to the Tenor of his Religion, to make War upon his Neighbours for the Propagation of the *Truth*, (for so they call their Superstition) and compel them either to become *Mahometans* or ⁶ Tributaries ⁷. For their Prophet *Mahomet* had given them a Commission of

⁶ *Alcoran*, Chap. IX. 29.
VIII. 40.

⁷ See the *Alcoran*, Chap.

a very large, nay unlimited Extent, which was, to fight till all People were of their Religion. And those Wars which are undertaken upon this account, they call *Holy Wars*, with no less Absurdity than we call that so which was once undertaken against them by the *Europeans*. *Abubeker* therefore sends *Caled* with some Forces into *Irâk* or *Babylonia*; but his greatest Longing was after *Syria*, which being a delicate, pleasant, fruitful Country, and near to *Arabia*, seem'd to lie very conveniently for him⁸. After he had fully resolv'd to invade it, he call'd his Friends about him, and made a Speech; in which he set before them the great Success they had been prosper'd with already, and told them that the Prophet [*Mahomet*] had assur'd him before his Decease, that their Religion should make a great Progress, and their Territories be vastly enlarged, and that he had Thoughts himself of invading *Syria*: But since it had pleas'd God to prevent the Prophet's Designs by taking him away, and he was left Successor, he desired their Advice. They answer'd unanimously, that they were all at his Service, and ready to obey to the utmost of their Power

Abubeker.
Alwâkidi.

⁸ *Photoubhosâm*, i.e. The Conquests of *Syria*, written by *Abu Abdollah Mohammed Ben Omar Alwâkidi*, *M. S. Arab. Laud. Num. A. 118*. And there is another Copy of it among *Dr. Pocock's MSS. Num. 326*. Out of this Author whatever relates to *Syria* is taken for the most part.

Abubeker
Alwákldi.

whatever he should be pleas'd to command them. Upon this he sends circular Letters to the petty Princes of *Arabia Fælix*, and other *Mahometan* Officers and Præfects, and to the Inhabitants of *Meccah* in particular, to command them to raise the utmost of their Forces, and with all possible speed repair to him at *Medinah*. The Contents of the Letter were as follows.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

° Abdollah Athik Ebn Abi Kohâpha, *to the rest of the true Believers. Health and Happiness, and the Mercy and Blessing of God be upon you. I praise the most high God, and I pray for his Prophet Mahomet. This is to acquaint you, that I intend to send the true Believers into Syria, to take it out of the Hands of the Infidels. And I would have you know, that the fighting for Religion is an Act of Obedience to God.*

He had sent this Letter out but a few Days, e'er the Messenger that carried it returned, and brought him word, that he had not deliver'd his Letter to any one Person but what had receiv'd it with great Expressions of Satisfaction, and a Readiness to comply with his Commands. And accordingly in a short time after, a very considerable Army, raised out of the several Pro-

° These were *Abubeker's* Surnames.

vinces of *Arabia*, came to wait upon him at *Medinah*, and pitched their Tents round about the City. They waited some time, without receiving any Orders from the Caliph. But the Weather was so extremely hot, and the Country so barren, that they were very hard put to it for Provision both for themselves and their Horses. Which made them complain to their Officers, and desire them to speak to *Abubeker* about it. Upon which one of them made bold to tell him, *You were pleas'd to send for us, and we obey'd your Commands with all possible speed; and now we are come here we are kept in such a barren Place, that we have nothing to subsist our Army. Therefore if your Mind be altered, and you have no further Occasion for us, be pleas'd to dismiss us.* The rest of the Heads of the Tribes seconded him. *Abubeker* told them, that he was far from designing them any Injury in detaining them so long, but only he was willing to have his Army as compleat as he could. To which they answered, That they had not left a Man behind them that was fit for Service. Then *Abubeker* went with some of his Friends to the Top of a Hill, to take a View of the Army, and pray'd to God to endue them with Courage, and assist them, and not deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies. Afterwards he walked on Foot with them a little way, and the Generals

Abubeker.
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rals rode. At last they told him, that they were asham'd to ride whilst he was on Foot. To which he answer'd, *I shall find my Account with God for these Steps, and you ride for the Service of God*: meaning, that there was no Difference in that Matter, so long as they were all concern'd in the propagating their Religion. Then he took his Leave of them, and directed his Speech to *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, whom he had appointed General of these Forces, after this manner. *Yezid, be sure you do not oppress your own People, nor make them uneasy, but advise with them in all your Affairs, and take Care to do that which is right and just, for those that do otherwise shall not prosper. When you meet with your Enemies, quit your selves like Men, and don't turn your Backs; and if you get the Victory, kill no little Children, nor old People, nor Women. Destroy no Palm-Trees, nor burn any Fields of Corn. Cut down no Fruit-Trees, nor do any Mischief to Cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any Covenant or Article, stand to it, and be as good as your Word. As you go on, you will find some religious Persons, that live retired in Monasteries, who propose to themselves to serve God that way: Let them alone, and neither kill them, nor destroy their Monasteries. And you will find another sort of People that belong to the Synagogues of Satan, who have shaven*
Crowns;

Crowns; be sure you cleave their Skulls, and give them no Quarter, till they either turn Mahometans or pay Tribute. When he had given them this Charge, he went back to *Medinah*, and the Army marched on towards *Syria*.

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

The News of this Preparation quickly came to the Ears of the Emperor *Heraclius*, who call'd a Council forthwith, and inveighed against the Wickedness and Insincerity of his Subjects, and told them that these Judgements were come upon them because they had not lived answerably to the Rules of the Gospel. He represented to them, that whereas in former times, powerful Princes, as the *Turk* and *Persian*, had not been able to overcome them, they were now insulted by the *Arabs*, a pitiful, contemptible People. Then he sent some Forces with all possible speed, but with ill Success, for their General with twelve hundred of his Men was kill'd upon the spot, and the rest routed, the *Arabs* in that Battle losing only one hundred and twenty Men. There were afterwards a great many Skirmishes, in which the Christians came off by the worst. The *Arabs* enriched with Spoil, concluded to make the *Caliph* a Present of all they had gotten, as the first Fruits of their Expedition; Arms and Ammunition only excepted. As soon as *Abubeker* had received the Spoil, he sent a Letter to the Inhabi-

Abubeker.
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tants of *Meccah*, and the adjacent Territories, in which he acquainted them with the good Success of his Forces, and call'd upon them not to be behind hand in fighting for the Cause of God. The good Success of their Brethren gave them such Encouragement, that they obey'd the Motion with as much Chearfulness, as if their being called to war had been nothing else but being invited to partake of the Spoil. Whereupon they quickly raised an Army, and waited upon *Abubeker* at *Medinah*, who forthwith ordered them to join those Forces which he had before sent into *Syria*. He had made *Saëd Ebn Caled* General of this Army; but when *Omar* express'd his Dislike of it, the *Caliph* was in a Streight, being loth to take away *Saëd's* Commission as soon as he had given it him; and on the other hand, not willing to disoblige *Omar*. In this Difficulty he applies himself to *Ayesha*, (*Mahomet's* Widow) for whom they had a great Respect upon the Account of her near Relation to their Prophet *Mahomet*, and us'd frequently to consult her after his Decease, supposing that she, being his best beloved Wife, might be better acquainted with his Thoughts both of Persons and Things than any other. When he came to her, she told him, that for *Omar's* part he meant for the best when he gave that Advice, and that she was sure he did not speak it out of

any

any Hatred or ill Will. Upon this *Abubeker* Abubeker.
Alwákidi. sends a Messenger to *Saëd*, to remand the Standard, which he very patiently resigned, and said, *He cared not who had the Standard; let whosoever will have it, he was resolv'd to fight under it for the Propagation of Religion.* So vehement and earnest were those Men whom God had raised up to be a Scourge to the Church, that no Affront whatsoever could disoblige them so far as to make them lay aside their Resolutions.

Whilst the *Caliph* was in doubt how to dispose of this Commission, *Amrou Ebno'l Aás*, a very good Soldier, who afterwards conquered *Ægypt*, went to *Omar*, and desired him to make use of his Interest with the *Caliph*, that it might be conferred upon him. But *Omar*, whether out of any Antipathy to his Person, or because he thought no Man worthy of a Charge that sought after it, utterly refus'd to meddle in it. And when *Amrou* persisted, and was very instant with him, *Omar* bad him *not seek for the Superiority and Dominion of this World*; and told him, *That if he was not a Prince to Day, he would be one to Morrow*; meaning in a future State. And now *Amrou* was out of all Hopes of having any Command; when presently the *Caliph*, of his own accord, made him General of this Army, and bad him, "Take Care to live religiously, and let the enjoying
" the

Abubeker.

Alwákidi.

“ the Prefence of God and a future State, be
 “ the End and Aim of all his Undertakings, and
 “ look upon himself as a dying Man, and al-
 “ ways have regard to the End of things ; and
 “ remember that we must in a short time all
 “ die, and rise again, and be called to an account.
 “ He ordered him not to go where the other
 “ Muslemans had been before him, but march
 “ into *Palestine*. And that he should take care
 “ to inform himself of *Abu Obeidab*’s Circum-
 “ stances, and assist him what he could. That
 “ he should not be inquisitive about Mens pri-
 “ vate Concerns ; but take care that his Men
 “ were diligent in reading the *Alcoran*, and not
 “ suffer them to talk about those Things which
 “ were done in *the Times of Ignorance* (so they
 “ call all the time before *Mahomet*) because that
 “ would be the Occasion of Dissention among
 “ them.”

After he had dismiss’d *Amrou*, he sent *Abu Obeidab* into *Syria*, to command all the Forces there, and told him, that there was no need of saying any thing new to him, since he had heard the Charge he had given to *Amrou*. One of the Grecian Emperor’s Generals had the good Fortune to beat the Muslemans in *Syria* ; and *Abu Obeidab*, apprehensive of the Emperor’s Power, durst not act offensively. Which as soon as the *Caliph* understood, he judg’d him unworthy of
 that

that Post, and recalled *Caled* from *Irák* to take his Place. *Caled* had performed great Things, considering the short time he had been gone. He had taken *Hirab*, (afterwards the Imperial Seat of *Alseffàh*) and several other Places, not able to endure a Siege, had submitted to him, and paid Tribute. *Elmakîn* says, that this was the first Tribute that was ever brought to *Medinah*. He had fought several Battles in which he never fail'd of Success, and would without doubt have pushed on his Conquest if he had not been recalled. When he came into *Syria*, he took different Measures from those which had been used before; and the Soldiers found a great Difference between a pious and a warlike General. *Abu Obeidah* was patient, meek and religious; *Caled* courageous and enterprising. At that time when he came to the Army, *Abu Obeidah* had sent *Serjabil* with four thousand Horse towards *Bosra*, a City of *Syria Damascus*, and very populous, in which there were at that time twelve thousand Horse. It was a great trading Town, which the *Arabs* used to frequent much. The Governour's Name was *Romanus*, who, as soon as he heard that the *Saracens* were upon their March, went to meet them, and asked *Serjabil* the Reason of his Coming, and several other Questions relating to *Mahomet* and his Successor. *Serjabil* told him, that

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that the Reason of their Coming was to give them their Choice of becoming Mahometans or Tributaries; and added, that they had taken *Aracab*, *Sacknah*, *Tadmor*, and *Hawrán*, and would not be long before they came to *Bostra*. The Governour, hearing this melancholy Story, went back, and would have perswaded the People to have paid Tribute. They utterly refused it, and prepared themselves for a vigorous Defence. *Serjabil* continued his March till he came before *Bostra*; the Besieged sallied out, and gave him Battle. The Prayer which he used was this: *O thou Eternal Being! O thou Creator of Heaven and Earth! O thou who art Great and Munificent! who hast promised us Victory by the Tongue of thy Prophet Mahomet, and the Conquest of Syria, Irâk, and Persia! O God, confirm our Hopes, and help those who assert thy Unity against those that deny thee. O God, assist us as thou didst thy Prophet Mahomet. O Lord, endue us with Patience, and keep our Feet sure, and help us against the Infidels.* The Christians had the Advantage by much in the Battle, and the Saracens were like to have been beaten off, if *Caled* had not come seasonably to their Relief: But his Arrival turn'd the Fortune of the Day, and the Besieged were forced to retire into the City. Then *Caled* asked *Serjabil*, what

¹ *Alcoran*, III. 141.

he meant by attacking such a Place as *Bostra*, which was as it were the Market-Place of *Syria*, *Irâk*, and *Hejâz*, and where there was always such a great Resort of all sorts of Persons, and a great many Officers and Soldiers, with such an handful of Men? *Serjabil* told him, that he did not go of his own Accord, but by *Abu Obeidah*'s Command. *Abu Obeidah*, said *Caled*, is a very honest Man, but understands nothing of military Affairs. Then *Caled* took Care and refreshed his Men, and ordered them to rest, for they were all extreamly fatigu'd, as well those that had marched that Day with him, as those that had fought under *Serjabil*; only he took a fresh Horse himself, and rode about all Night, sometimes going round the City, and sometimes round the Camp, for fear the Besieged should make any Excursions, especially at such a time as his Men were tired, and out of Order. In the Morning, about break of Day, he came into the Camp, and the Muslemans arose, and, according to their Custom, some of them purify'd themselves with Water; and others, who could not conveniently furnish themselves with Water, rubb'd themselves with Sand, (for that is allowed in Case of Necessity, and is frequently used, especially by such Mahometans as travel in those desert Countries, where there is great Scarcity of Water) and their general

Caled

Abubeker.
Alwâkidi.

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Caled said the Morning-Prayer among them, and then they took Horse immediately, for the Besieged had set open the Gates of the City, and drawn out their men into the Plain, and taken an Oath to be true to one another, and fight it out to the last Man; which when *Caled* saw, he said, *These Villains come out now, because they know we are weary: Come, let us go on, and the Blessing of God go along with us.* Both Armies were set in Battle Array, and now *Romanus* the Governour, who thought it the best way to secure himself and his Wealth, tho' at the Expence of Honour, Soul, and Conscience, took an Oppertunity to let *Caled* know, that he had more Friends than he was aware of. He rides before the rest of the Army, and with a loud Voice challenges the Saracen General, who quickly came forth to him; he tells him, that he had for a long time entertain'd a favourable Opinion of the Mahometan Religion, and seemed to be very willing to renounce his own, upon Condition, that *Caled* would secure him, and what belong'd to him; which he readily promised. *Romanus* added, that he had, upon *Serjabil's* first coming to besiege the Town, advis'd the Inhabitants to submit to the Muslemans, and pay Tribute; but that instead of being heard, he had only purchased the ill Will of the Citizens by his good

good Counsel. In short, he said whatever he could think on that might ingratiate himself with the Saracen, and proffer'd his Service to go back again, and perswade the Besieged to surrender. *Caled* told him, that it would not be safe for him to go back again, without having first fought with him, because then it would appear plainly how well they were agreed, which might occasion some Danger to him from his own People: So they agreed to make a Shew of fighting, to colour the Matter the better; and after a while *Romanus*, as being beaten, was to run away. The armies on both sides saw them together, but no body knew what they said. Immediately this Mock-Combat began, and *Caled* laid on so furiously, that *Romanus* was in danger of his Life, and ask'd *Caled*, whether that was his way of fighting in jest, and if he designed to kill him? *Caled* smiled, and told him, No, but that it was necessary for them to show something of a Fight, to prevent their being suspected. *Romanus* made his Escape; and indeed it was high time, for the Saracen had handled him so roughly, that whoever had seen him after the Combat, would have had little Reason to have thought he had fought in jest, for he was bruise'd and wounded in several Places. As soon as he came back, the Citizens asked him, what News? He told them

what

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

Abubeker. what a brave Soldier *Caled* was, and extolled
 Alwákidi. the Valour and Hardiness of the Saracens, and
 and desired them to be ruled and advised in
 time, before it was too late; concluding that it
 would be altogether in vain to make any Op-
 position. But this enraged the Besieged, and
 they asked him, if he could not be content to
 be a Coward himself, but he must needs make
 them so too? They would certainly have kil-
 led him, if it had not been for fear of the Em-
 peror. However they confined him to his
 House, and charged him at his Peril not to
 meddle nor interpose in their Affairs, and told
 him, that if he would not fight, they would.
Romanus, upon this, went home, divested of all
 Power and Authority, but he still comforted
 himself with the Hopes of being secured and
 exempted from the common Calamity, if the
 Saracens should take the Town, as he expected
 they would. The Besieged having deprived
 him, substituted in his Room the General of
 of those Forces, which the Emperor had sent
 to their Assistance, and desired him to chal-
 lenge *Caled*, which he did; and when *Caled*
 was preparing himself to go, *Abdo'rrhamán*,
 the Caliph's Son, a very young Man, but of
 extraordinary Hopes, begged of him to let him
 answer the Challenge. Having obtained Leave,
 he mounted his Horse, and took his Lance,
 which

which he handled with admirable Dexterity, and when he came near the Governour, he said, *Come, thou Christian Dog, come on.* Then the Combat began; and after a while, the Governour finding himself worsted, having a better Horse than the Saracen, ran away, and made his Escape to the Army. *Abdo'rrahmâm*, heartily vexed that his Enemy had escaped, fell upon the rest, sometimes charging upon the Right Hand, sometimes upon the Left, making way where he went. *Caled* and the rest of the Officers followed him, and the Battle grew hot between the Saracens and the miserable Inhabitants of *Bostra*, who were at their last Struggle for their Fortunes, their Liberty, their Religion, and whatsoever was dear to them, and had now seen the last Day dawn, in which they were ever to call any thing their own, without renouncing their Baptism. The Saracens fought like Lions, and *Caled* their General still cry'd out, *Albámlab, Albámlab, Aljánnab, Aljánnab*; that is, *Fight, Fight, Paradise, Paradise*. The Town was all in an Uproar, the Bells rung, and the Priests and Monks ran about the Streets, making Exclamations, and calling upon God, but all too late; for his afflicting Providence had determin'd to deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies. *Caled* and *Serjabil* (for the Saracens could pray as well

Abubeker:
Alwákidi.

Abubeker.
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as fight, and *England* as well as *Arabia* has had some that could do so too) said, O God! *these vile Wretches pray with idolatrous Expressions, and take to themselves another God besides thee; but we acknowledge thy Unity, and affirm, that there is no other God but thee alone; help us, we beseech thee, for the Sake of thy Prophet Mahomet, against these Idolaters.* The Battle continu'd for some time; at last the poor Christians were forc'd to give way, and leave the Field to the victorious Saracens, who lost only 230 Men. The Besieged retired as fast as they could, and shut up the Gates, and set up their Banners and Standards, with the Sign of the Cross upon the Walls, intending to write speedily to the Grecian Emperor for more Assistance.

And now we must leave the poor Inhabitants of *Bosra* in their melancholly Circumstances, and come to the deposed Governour *Romanus*, who was extreamely well satisfy'd with the Success of the *Saracens*, and was now going to act a Master-piece of Villany. The *Saracens* kept Watch in their Camp all Night; and as they went their Rounds, they saw a Man come out from the City, with a Camlet-Coat on, wrought with Gold. *Abdo'rrahmán*, who happen'd to be that Night upon the Watch, was the first that met him, and set his Lance to his Breast. *Hold*, said he, *I am Romanus, the Governour*

vernour of Bosra; bring me before Caled the General. Upon this Abdo'rrhamân went with him to the General's Tent. As soon as Caled saw him he knew him, and asked him, how he did? Sir, said he, my People have been disobedient, and mutiny'd, and deposed me, and confined me to my House, and threatned me with Death if I intermeddled with any of their Affairs. Wherefore, that I may chastise them according to their Deserts, I have order'd my Sons and Servants to dig a Hole in the Wall (for his House stood upon the Wall of the Town) and if you please to send such Persons as you can trust, I will take care to deliver the Town into your Hands. Upon this Caled immediately dispatch'd Abdo'rrabmân with an Hundred Men, and ordered him, so soon as he had taken Possession, to fall upon the Christians, and open the Gates. Romanus conducted them to the Wall, and took them into his House; and after he had given them a Treat, he brought every one of them a Suit of such Cloaths as the Christian Soldiers us'd to wear, and disguised them. Then Abdo'rrabmân divided them into four Parts, five and twenty in a Company, and ordered them to go into different Streets of the City, and commanded them, that as soon as they heard him, and those that were with him, cry

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out, ² *Alláb Acbar*, they should do so too. Then *Abdo'rrahmán* asked *Romanus*, where the Governour was which fought with him, and ran away from him? *Romanus* profered his Service to show him, and away they march'd together to the Castle, attended with five and twenty Muslemans. When they came there, the Governour asked *Romanus*, what he came for? Who answer'd, that he had no Business of his own, but only came to wait upon a Friend of his, that had a great Desire to see him. *Friend of mine!* says the Governour; *What Friend?* Only your Friend *Abdo'rrahmán*, said *Romanus*, is come to send you to Hell. The unhappy Governour finding himself betray'd, endeavoured to make his Escape. *Nay, hold,* says *Abdo'rrahmán*, *tho' you ran away from me once in the Day-time, you must not serve me so again;* and struck him with his Sword, and killed him. As he fell, *Abdo'rrahmán* cry'd out *Alláb Acbar*. The Saracens which were below hearing it, did so too; so did those which were dispersed about the Streets, that there was nothing but *Alláb Acbar* heard round about the City. Then those Saracens which were disguis'd kill'd the Guards, opened the Gates, and let in *Caled* with his whole Army. The Town being now entirely lost, the conquering *Saracens* fell

² God is most mighty.

upon

upon the Inhabitans, and killed and made Prisoners all they met with; till at last the chief Men of the City came out of their Houses and Churches, and cry'd *Quarter, Quarter.* The General, *Caled*, immediately commanded them to kill no more; for, said he, the Apostle of God us'd to say, *If any one be killed after he has cried out, Quarter, 'tis none of my Fault.*

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Thus was the Condition of *Bostra* altered on a sudden, and they which had been before a wealthy and flourishing People, were now brought under the Saracenicall Yoak, and could enjoy their Christian Profession upon no other Terms than paying Tribute. Some of the Inhabitants asked *Caled* the next Morning, who it was that betray'd the City to him. To which he making no Answer, as being unwilling to expose the Person that had done him such signal Service; *Romanus*, the Traytor, with most unparallell'd Impudence, started up himself, and said, *O you Enemies of God, and Enemies of his Apostle, I did it, desiring to please God. To whom they answered, Are not you one of us? No, said he, I have nothing to do with you, either in this World or that which is to come. And I deny him that was crucified, and whosoever worships him. And I chuse God for my Lord, Mahometanism for my Religion, the Temple of*

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Meccah for the ³ Place of my Worship, the Muslemans for my Brethren, and Mahomet for my Prophet and Apostle. And I witness that there is but one God, and that he has no Partner, and that Mahomet is his Servant and Apostle, whom he sent with Direction into the right Way and the true Religion, that he might exalt it above every Religion, in spite of those who join Partners with God. After he had given such an ample Testimony, and made so full a Confession of his Faith, Caled appointed some Men to take Care of his Effects, for he durst not venture himself any longer in *Bosra*, after having been guilty of such unexampled Villany.

Then Caled wrote to *Abu Obeidah*, to acquaint him with his Success, and withal to command him, to bring those Forces which he had with him, that they might all march together to the Siege of *Damascus*. Then he put a Garrison of four hundred Horse into *Bosra*, and sent *Abubeker* the News of his Victory, and his Intention to besiege *Damascus*.

³ Arab. *Keblah*, which signifies the Place towards which they turn themselves when they say their Prayers. For as the *Jews*, though in Captivity, used to turn their Faces towards the Temple of *Jerusalem* when they pray'd; so do the *Mahometans* towards the Temple at *Meccah*. And there are Books in *Arabick* (one of which I have seen in the *Bodleian Library*) teaching how to find out the *Zenith*, or Vertical Point of the *Keblah*, or Temple of *Meccah*, Mathematically: That let a Musleman be where he will, he may know which way to set his Face when he says his Prayers.

There

There were at that time seven thousand *Saracens* with *Amrou Ebnòl Aâs* in *Palestine*; and with *Abu Obeidah* thirty-seven thousand, which had been raised at several times out of *Hejaz*, *Yemen*, *Hadramut*, the Sea-Coasts of *Amman*, and the Territories of *Meccah* and *Thayef*. *Calèd* had with him only fifteen hundred Horse, which he brought with him out of *Irâk*. *Heraclius*, the Grecian Emperor, was now at *Antioch*, and being informed what Havock the Saracens had made in his Dominions, thought it time to look about him. He could not endure to think of losing *Damascus*, but sends a General, which our *Arabick* Author (not exact at all in the Names of the Christians) calls *Calous*, and with him five thousand Men, to defend it. *Calous* came first to *Hens*, formerly called *Emessa*, being the chief City of the adjacent Territory which is called by the same Name. It lies between *Aleppo* and *Damascus*, distant five Days Journey from each of them; a Place of a most healthful and pleasant Air, compassed about with beautiful Gardens and fruitful Orchards, which are plentifully watered by a Rivulet drawn from the River *Orontes*, called by the *Arabian* Geographers, *Alâsi*, which passes by the City at the Distance of about half a Mile. When he came there, he found the Place very well provided both with

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Soldiers, Arms, and Ammunition. For the Conquests of the Saracens had struck such a Terror into all the Country, that every Place had fortify'd itself as well as possible. He stayed a Day and a Night at *Hems*, and passed from thence to *Baalbec*. He no sooner came near that Place, but there came out to meet him a mixed Multitude of Men and Women, with their Hair about their Ears, weeping and wringing their Hands, and making most pitiful Lamentation. *Calous* asked them what was the Matter. Matter? said they, Why, the *Arabs* have over-run all the Country, and taken *Aracab*, and *Sachnab* and *Tadmor*, and *Hawràn*, and *Bosra*, and are now set down before *Damascus*. He asked them, what was their General's Name, and how many Men he had? They told him that his Name was *Caled*, and that he had but fifteen hundred Horse. *Calous* despised so inconsiderable a Number of Men, and bad the People be of good Chear, and swore, that when he came back again he would bring *Caled's* Head along with him upon the Point of his Spear.

As soon as he came to *Damascus*, he produced the Emperor's Letter, and told the People, that he expected to have the whole Command of the Town himself: and would have had *Isráil*, the former Governour, sent out of Town: But the *Damascens* did by no means approve of

of that, for they lik'd their old Governour very well, and would not hear of parting with him in such a time of Extremity, when they had as great Occasion for Men of Courage, as ever they had since they were a People. Upon this they were divided into Factions and Parties, and continu'd wrangling and quarrelling one with another, at that very time when there was the greatest need of Unity and a right Understanding; for now the *Saracens* were expected every Moment. It was not long before they came; the Christians went forth to meet them, and both Armies were drawn up in order of Battle.

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When both were ready to fight, *Caled* called out to *Derar Ebn'ol Azwar*, and said, *Now Derar quit thyself like a Man, and follow the Steps of thy Father, and others of thy Countrymen, who have fought for the Cause of God. Help forward Religion, and God will help thee.* *Derar* was mounted upon a fine Mare, and *Caled* had no sooner spoken, but he immediately charged the Horse, and killed four Troopers, and then wheeled off, and fell upon the Foot, and kill'd six of them, and never left charging them till he had broken their Ranks, and put them into Disorder. At last they threw Stones at him, and pressed upon him so hard, that he was forced to retire among his own Men, where he received due Thanks. Then *Caled* called

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call'd out to *Abdo'rrahmán*, the Caliph's Son, whom we have mention'd before, who did the like. *Caled* himself insulted the Christians, and gave them reproachful Language, and challeng'd any of them to fight with him. *Israël* upon this called to *Calous*, and told him, that it would be very proper for him, who was the Protector of his Country, and whom the Emperor had sent on purpose to fight, to answer the Challenge: However *Calous* would rather have staid behind, if he had not been in a manner compell'd to go by the Importunity of the People. At last, with much ado, he arms himself, and goes forwards; and because he had a mind to discourse with his Adversary, he takes an Interpreter along with him. As they went on together, *Calous* began to shake in his Harness for Fear of the *Saracen*, and would fain have perswaded the Interpreter, with large Promises, to have taken his Part, if the *Saracen* should fall upon him. The Interpreter begg'd his Pardon, and told him, that as far as Words would go, he was at his Service, but he did not care for Blows; and therefore, says he, look to your self, Sir; for my part I will not be concern'd: For if I should meddle, and be knock'd on the Head for my pains, I pray what Good would all your fair Promises do me? When they came to *Caled*, the Interpreter

preter began after this manner; Sir, said he, I'll tell you a Story: There was a Man had a Flock of Sheep, and he put them to a negligent Shepherd, and the wild Beasts devoured them. Which when the Owner perceived, he turn'd away the Shepherd, and got another, that was a Man of Application and Courage; then when the wild Beast came again, the Shepherd kill'd him. Have a care that this does not prove to be your Case: You Arabians were a contemptible, vile People, and went about with hungry Bellies, naked and barefoot, and liv'd upon Barly-bread, and what you could squeeze out of Dates. Now since you are come into our Country, and have fared better, you begin to rebel. But now the Emperor has taken Care to send a Man that is a Soldier indeed, and therefore it concerns you to look to your selves. And he has brought me along with him to talk with you, out of Compassion towards you. Prithee, says Caled, don't tell me thy Stories; as for what thou say'st of our Country, 'tis true enough. But you shall find that times are well amended with us, and that instead of our Barley-Bread and course Fare, you twit us withal, we shall be Masters of all your Wealth and good things, nay your Persons, and Wives, and Children too. And as for this same great Man thou speakest of; what dost tell me of a great Man for, who have taken

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Tadmor, Hawrán and Bosra? *Let him be as great as he will; if he be the Support of your Kingdom, so am I of our Religion.* Calous did not like the Mien and Behaviour of his Adversary at all, and bad the Interpreter ask him to defer the Combat till the next Day; intending, if he had once made his Escape, never to have come so near him any more. But the Saracen did not design to part with him so, but said, that he would not be fool'd, and immediately got between him and the Christian Army, to prevent his running away, and began to lay about him with his Spear most vehemently. They both fought bravely for a while; in the mean time the Interpreter perceiving them engaged, mov'd off, and escaped to the Christian Camp. At last *Calous* grew weary, and began to stand altogether upon the defensive part. The Saracen perceiving that he stood upon his Guard, left off pushing him, and came up close to him, and dextrously shifting his Spear from his Right Hand to his Left, laid hold on him, and drew him to him, and flung him from his Saddle to the Ground. The Saracens immediately shouted out, *Allah Acbar*, which made the whole Camp echo, and the poor Christians tremble. *Caled* took Care of his Prisoner, and and changed his Horse, and took a fresh one, which the Governour of *Tadmor* had presented him

him with, and went into the Field again. *Derar* desired him to stay behind, *for*, says he, *you have tired your self with fighting with this Dog, therefore rest your self a little, and let me go.* To which *Caled* answered, O *Derar*, *we shall rest in the World to come; he that labours to-day, shall rest to-morrow*, and rode forwards. He was but just gone, when *Romanus*, the treacherous Governour of *Bosra*, called him back, and told him, that *Calous* would speak with him; who, even in those calamitous Circumstances, had not laid aside his resentment. When he came back, *Calous* gave him some Account of the Difference which had been between him and *Izraël* the Governour of *Damascus*, and told him, that if he should overcome him, it would be of great Moment, in order to the taking the City; he advis'd him therefore to challenge him, and get him out to single Combat, and kill him if he could. *Caled* told him, that he might be sure he would not spare any Infidel or Idolater.

Calous being now a Prisoner, his five thousand Men, which he had brought to the Relief of *Damascus*, were very urgent with *Izraël* to go out, and answer *Caled's* Challenge; which he declined at first: But afterwards, when they threaten'd him with Death, if he persisted in his Refusal, he told them, that the Reason why
he

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he refused at first, was not because he was afraid, but because he had a Mind to let their Master *Calous* try his Valour first. Then he armed himself, and mounted upon a good Horse, rode up to the Saracen; who, amongst other Discourse, asked him his Name? He answered, *My Name is Izraël*, (which is the Name of that Angel, whom the Mahometans suppose to take care of the Souls of Persons deceased.) *Caled* laugh'd, and said, *Well, your Names-Sake Izraël is just ready at your Service, to convey your Soul to Hell.* *Izraël* asked him what he had done with his Prisoner *Calous*? He told him, that he had him bound. *Why did you not kill him?* said *Izraël*. *Because,* said the Saracen, *I intend to kill you both together.* Then the Combat began, and was managed on both Sides with great Dexterity and Vigor. *Izraël* behaved himself so well, that *Caled* admired him. At last the Victory inclined to *Caled*; and *Izraël* finding himself over-match'd, and having the better Horse of the two, turn'd his Back, and rode away. *Caled* pursued him as fast as he could, but could not overtake him. When *Izraël* perceived that his Adversary did not come up, imagining that this Slackness of his proceeded from an Unwillingness to fight, he resum'd his Courage, and faced about, in hopes to have taken him Prisoner; which

Caled

Caled perceiving, alighted from his Horse, and chose rather to fight on Foot; and as *Izraël* rushed upon him, he struck at the Legs of his Horse, and brought him down to the Ground, and took him Prisoner. Having now in his Possession both the General and the Governour, he asked them, if they were willing to renounce their Christianity, and turn Mahometans? Which they both constantly refusing, were incontinently beheaded. *Caled* having ordered the Heads to be brought to him, took them, and threw them over the Walls into the Town.

There were several Battles fought before *Damascus*, in which the Christians for the most part were beaten. At last, when they saw that by sallying out they had many Men killed and taken Prisoners, they determined to save the Remainder for the Defence of the Walls, and expose themselves no more to the Hazard of a Field-Fight. Thus they shut up themselves within the Town, and *Caled* pitched his Tents over against the East Gate, and *Abu Obeidah* set down before the Gate which they call *Al-jábiyah*. The City being thus streightly besieged, and the Inhabitants not daring to depend altogether upon those Forces which they had at present, they resolved to dispatch a Messenger speedily to the Grecian Emperor *Heraclius*, then at *Antioch*: So they wrote a Letter to him,

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him, in which they acquainted him with what had pass'd, and the Death of *Calous* and *Izraïl*, and what Conquests the Saracens had made on that Side of the Country. When they had closed the Letter, they delivered it into the Hands of a fit Person, and let him down on the Outside of the Wall in the Night. The Messenger managed his business so well, that he escaped the Saracens, who were a People not very negligent in their Watch. When he came to *Antioch*, and delivered his Letter, the Emperor was extreamly concerned, and sent *Werdàn* with an hundred thousand Men, to relieve *Damascus*.

Our Author tells us, that *Werdàn* refused to accept of this Commission at first, as thinking himself slighted, because the Emperor had not employed him at the Beginning of the War. But I never give much Credit to Authors that speak of things done in foreign Courts, and out of their Knowledge, however worthy of Credit they may be, when they write of things done by their own Countrymen, and give an Account of such Transactions, as they may reasonably be supposed to have sufficient Opportunities of informing themselves about. For this reason I would as little heed an *Arabick* Author, writing about the Affairs of the Christians, as I would a *Greek* or *Latin* one,

giving

- giving an Account of the *Arabians*; because, in this Case, both must needs take a great deal upon Trust, by hearsay, and uncertain Reports, and consequently be imposed on themselves, and deceive their Readers. Wherefore I have rather chosen to take this History out of their own Authors, than depend upon the Christian Writers, who were very little acquainted with the Affairs of the Saracens.

Werdàn, however, undertook the Command of that Army; and after the Emperor and some of the Nobility had gone part of the Way with him, and taken their Leave, he marched with all possible Speed towards *Damascus*; the Emperor having given him particular Charge, to take Care to cut off all Supplies from the Saracen Army, which was with *Caled* and *Abu Obeidah*.

Within a short time after, the Saracens heard that the Emperor's Army was upon their March, near *Ajnadin*. *Caled* immediately goes to *Abu Obeidah*, to advise with him what was proper to be done in this Case. *Caled* was for having the Siege raised, and the Saracens go in a full Body against the Grecian Army; and then, if they got the Victory, return to the Siege again: But *Abu Obeidah*, told him, that he was by no means of that Opinion, because the Inhabitants of *Damascus* were already in a

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very great Streight, and their going away would only give them an Opportunity of getting fresh Supplies, both of Arms and Provision, into the Town, and enable them to prolong the Siege: With which Answer the General was very well satisfied.

Werdàn's Army was very slow upon their March, and the poor besieged Christians were now in great Distress. Finding no Assistance from the Emperor, they proposed Terms to the General, and would have given him a thousand Ounces of Gold, and two hundred Suits of Silk, upon Condition that he would raise the Siege. To which he answered, that he would not raise the Siege, unless they would either become Tributaries or Mahometans: If neither of these Conditions pleased them, they must be content to fight it out. About six Weeks after this, the Saracens heard an unusual Noise in the City, great Exclamations and Expressions of Joy. They could not imagine what should be the Meaning of it, but in a very short time they were satisfied, for their Scouts brought them Word, that the Emperor's Army was at hand. *Caled* again would very willingly have gone to meet them; but *Abu Obeidah* would by no Means consent that the Siege should be raised. At last they agreed to choose some very good Soldier, and send him with part of their Forces,

to

to give the Emperor's Army Diversion, that they might not come and disturb the Siege. The Man that *Caled* pitched upon to have the Management of this Expedition, was *Derar Ebn'ol Azwâr*, an excellent Soldier, and most mortal Enemy of the Christians, (as indeed all of them were, *Abu Obeidah* only excepted) who accepted of this Post very cheerfully, and cared not how many or how few Men he had with him, provided he might be employed in some glorious Action against the Christians. But *Caled* told him, that though they were obliged to fight for their Religion, yet God had commanded no Man to throw himself away, and therefore bad him be content to accept of such Assistance as he should think fit to send along with him; and ordered him, in case of great Danger, to retire to the Army. *Derar* immediately prepared to go; and as they were upon their March, the Emperor's vast army drew near. When the Saracens saw such a Multitude, they were afraid, and would willingly have retired; but *Derar* swore, *That he would not stir a Step back without fighting.* And *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* told them, *That it was a common thing for the Muslemans to rout a great Army with an Handful of Men.* The Armies drew near, and notwithstanding the vast Disproportion of their Numbers, *Derar* advanced, without showing

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the least Token of Fear or Concern; and when he came up, he always fought most where *Werdàn* the General was. And first of all he killed his Right-hand Man, and then the Standard-bearer. The Standard had in it the sign of the Cross, and was richly adorned with precious Stones. As soon as *Derar* saw it fall, he commanded his *Saracens* to alight, and take it up, whilst he defended them. Immediately they obeyed, and he in the mean time laid about him so furiously, that none durst come within his reach to save the Standard. *Werdàn*, the Emperor's General, had a Son that was his Father's Lieutenant in *Hems*, who marched with ten thousand Men when he heard that his Father was going against the Muslemans; and had the Fortune to join him whilst the Armies were engaged. He observing *Derar's* Activity, and what Execution he did amongst the Greeks, watched his Opportunity, and wounded him in the left Arm with a Javelin. *Derar* turned himself about, and struck him with his Lance so violently, that when he drew it back again, he left the Point of it sticking in the Bones. Notwithstanding which he made as vigorous a Defence as could be expected from a Man disarmed; but the *Greeks* pressed hard upon him, and with much ado took him Prisoner. When the *Saracens* saw their Captain taken Prisoner, they fought

fought as long as they could, in hopes of recovering him, but all in vain: Which discouraged them so much, that they had like to have run away. Which *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* perceiving, called out to them with a loud Voice, and said, *What! don't you know, that whosoever turns his Back upon his Enemies, offends God and his Prophet? And that the Prophet said, that the Gates of Paradise should be open to none but such as fought for Religion? Come on! I'll go before you. If your Captain be dead or taken Prisoner, yet your God is alive, and sees what you do.* With these Words he restored the Battle. In the mean time News came to *Caled*, that *Derar* was taken. Upon which he immediately applies himself to *Abu Obeidah*, to know what was best to be done. *Abu Obeidah* sent him word, that he should leave some body in his Place, and go himself to rescue *Derar*. Upon this he leaves *Meisarah Ebn Mesrouk* in his Place, with a thousand Horse, and taking a considerable Force along with him, went with all possible speed to relieve the *Saracens*. When those that were engaged saw the Recruit come up, they fell on like Lions; and *Caled* charged in the thickest part of them, where there were most Banners and Standards, in hopes of finding *Derar* Prisoner there, but all in vain. At last there revolted a Party of them that came

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with *Werdan's* Son from *Hems*, and begged of *Caled* Protection and Security for themselves and their Families. *Caled* told them, *That he would consider that when he came to Hems, and not in this Place.* Then he asked them, if they knew what was become of *Derar*? They told him, that as soon as he was taken Prisoner, *Werdan*, the General, had sent him with a Guard of an Hundred Horse Prisoner to *Hems*, in order to make a Present of him to *Heraclius* the Emperor. *Caled* was glad to hear it, and immediately dispatched *Raphi Ebn Omeirab* with an hundred Horse, to retake *Derar*. They made all possible hast, and took the direct Road to *Hems*; at last they overtook them, and killed and routed them, and recovered their Friend *Derar*, and hastened back to join *Caled*, who by this time had entirely defeated the Grecian Army. They pursued them as far as *Wad'l Hâyat*, and brought off what Plunder, and Horses, and Arms they could, and returned to the Siege of *Damascus*, which had now but little Hopes of holding out long.

The Emperor *Heraclius* not willing to part with *Syria* thus, sent to *Werdan* again, and gave him the Command of seventy thousand Men at *Ajnadin*; and commanded him to go and give the *Saracens* Battle, and raise, if possible, the Siege of *Damascus*. When the News of this

Pre-

Preparation came to *Caled's* Ears, he went to *Abu Obeidah*, to consult what was proper to be done; who told him, that he knew that most of their great Men were absent; and that it would be his best way to send for them as soon as he could, that having joined their Forces, they might in a full Body give the Emperor's Army Battle. *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan* was then in *Balka*, a Territory upon the Confines of *Syria*; *Serjabil Ebn Hasanah* in *Palestine*; *Meâd* in *Harrân*; *Nomân Ebno'l Mundir* at *Tadmor*; and *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* in *Irâk*. Upon this *Caled* wrote the following Letter.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

From Caled Ebno'l Waled to Amrou Ebno'l Aâs, Health and Happiness. Know that thy Brethren the Muslemans design to march to Ajnadîn, where there is an Army consisting of seventy thousand Greeks, who purpose to come against us, that they may extinguish the Light of God with their Mouths; but God preserveth his Light in spite of the Infidels. As soon therefore as this Letter of mine shall come to thy Hands, come with those that are with thee to Ajnadîn,

² Arab. *Kobarao Ashhab Resoûl Allah*, i. e. The great Men of the Companions of the Apostle of God. ³ These Words are a Text of the *Alcoran*. See *Alcoran*, Chap. IX. 32. and LXI. 8.

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where thou shalt find us, if it pleases the Most High God.

The like he sent to the rest of the Generals, and immediately gave Orders for the whole Army to march with Bag and Baggage. *Caled* himself went in the Front, and *Abu Obeidab* brought up the Rear. The *Damascens* perceiving the Siege raised, and their Enemies upon their March, took Courage, and ventured out upon them with an Army of six thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot; the Horse under the Command of *Paul*; the Foot, of *Peter*. As soon as *Paul* came up, he fell upon *Abu Obeidab*, and kept him employ'd, whilst *Peter* went to seize the Spoil; for all their Baggage, and Wealth, and Women, and Children were in the Rear. *Peter* brought off a good part of it, and some of the Women; and taking a Guard both of Horse and Foot, returned towards *Damascus*, leaving his Brother *Paul* with the rest of the Army to engage the Muslemans. *Paul* behaved himself so well, that he beat *Abu Obeidab*, and those that were in the Rear, who now wished at his Heart that he had taken *Caled's* Advice, when he would have perswaded him at first to have marched in the Front, and would have brought up the Rear himself. The Women and Children made grievous Lamentation, and all Things went ill on that side.

Upon

Upon this *Saïd Ebn Sabàbb*, being well mounted, rode as hard as he could to the Front of the Army, where *Caled* was, and gave him an Account how Matters went; and desired him with all possible speed to succour *Abu Obeidah*. Well, said *Caled*, *God's will be done; I would have been in the Rear at first, but he would not let me; and now you see what is come on it.* Immediately he dispatches *Raphi* with two thousand Horse, to relieve the Saracens in the Rear, and after him *Kais Ebn Hobeirah* with two thousand more; then *Abdo'rrahmân* with two thousand more; then *Derar Ebno'l Azwâr* with two thousand more; the rest of the Army he brought up himself. When *Raphi*, *Derar*, and *Abdo'rrahmân* came up, the State of the Matter was quite altered; and the Christians which had the better of it before, were beaten down on every side, and their Standards and Colours turned upside down. *Derar* pursued *Paul* the General, who durst not encounter him; for he had seen how he behaved himself at the Siege of *Damascus*, and heard how he had fought against *Werdân*. *Derar* turned himself about, and said to *Abu Obeidah*, *Did not I tell you that this* ³ *Devil would not stand me?* and followed up closely. *Paul* being pursued hard, flung

³ Arab. *Shaitân*, which is the same with the Hebrew Word *Satan*.

himself

Abubeker.
Alwākidi.

himself off from his Horse, and endeavoured to get away on Foot. *Derar* alighted too, and had just overtaken him, and was a going to chine him; but he cryed out, *Hold! for in saving me, you save your Wives and Children which we have taken.* *Derar* upon this forbore, and took him Prisoner. The Christians were all routed; so that of those six thousand Horse which came out of *Damascus*, there escaped only one Hundred; as they were afterwards informed when the City was taken.

Among those other Captives which *Peter* had taken, it fortun'd that *Caulah*, *Derar's* Sister, a brave Virago, and a very beautiful Woman, was one. *Derar* was extreamly concerned for the Loss of his Sister, and made his Complaint to *Caled*: Who bad him be of good cheer; for, says he, *we have taken their General, and some other Prisoners, which we shall exchange for our own; and there is no question but we shall find them all at Damascus.* However, they resolv'd to go and see if they could recover them before they got thither. *Caled*, *Raphi*, *Meisarah*, and *Derar*, went in search of the Captives; and order'd *Abu Obeidab* to march on slowly with the Army. There were among the Women which were taken Prisoners, some of the *Hamyarites* (a Tribe so called amongst the *Arabs*) which the *Arabians* suppose to be de-

descended from the ancient *Amalekites*. These Women are used to ride on Horseback, and fight as the *Amazons* did of old. *Peter*, when he had got his Prisoners and Plunder at some convenient Distance, did not make hast to convey them to *Damascus*, but stayed by the way, being desirous, if possible, to hear of his Brother *Paul's* Success before he went home. Whilst they rested, they took an Account of the Women, and what else they had gotten; and *Peter* chose *Caulah*, *Derar's* Sister, for himself, and told his Men, that she, and no other should be his, and nobody's else. The rest chose each of them one as long as they lasted. The Greeks went into their Tents to refresh themselves, and in the mean time the Women got altogether, and *Caulah* said to them: *What! will you suffer your selves to be abused by these Barbarians, and become Hand-maids and Slaves to these Idolaters? Where's your Courage? For my part, I'll sooner die than any of these idolatrous Slaves shall touch me.* *Opheirah*, who was one of them, told her, that their Patience was not the Effect of Cowardice, but Necessity. *For*, says she, *we are defenceless; we have neither Sword nor Spear, nor Bow, nor any thing else. But cannot we, says Caulah, take each of us a Tent-pole, and stand upon our Guard? Who knows but that it may please God to give us the Victory, or deliver us by*
some

Abubeker.
 Alwákidi.

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Alwákidi.

*some means or other? If not, we shall die, and be at rest, and preserve the Honour of our Country. Opheirah swore she was much in the right of it. They instantly resolved upon it, and provided themselves with Staves, and Caulah commanded in chief. Come, says she, stand round in a Circle, and be sure you leave no Space between you for any of them to come in and do us a Mischief. Strike their Spears with your Staves, and break their Swords and their Sculls. As she spoke, she stepped forwards one Step, and struck a Fellow that stood within her Reach, and shattered his Scull. Immediately there was a great Up^{roar}, and the Greeks came running out of their Tents to see what was the Matter. When they came out, there stood the Women all up in Arms. Peter called out to Caulah, whom he had chosen for his Mistress, *What's the Meaning of this, my Dear? Woe be to thee, said she, and to all of you, thou ³Christian Dog. The meaning of it is, that we design to preserve our Honour, and to beat your Brains out with these Staves: Come, why don't you come to your Sweet-heart now, for which you reserved your self? It may be you may receive something at her Hands, which may prove worth your while. Peter only laughed at her, and ordered his Men to compass them round, and not do them any Harm, but only**

³ Arab. *Ya kelbo'nnafraniyah.*

take them Prisoners, and gave them an especial Charge to be careful of his Mistress. They endeavoured to obey his Commands, but with very ill Success; for when any Horseman came near the Women, they let drive at the Horses Legs, and if they brought him down, his Rider was sure to rise no more. When *Peter* perceived that they were in earnest, he grew very angry, and alighted from his Horse, and bid his Men do so too, and fall upon them with their Cymitars. The Women stood close together, and said one to another, *Come, let us die honourably, rather than live scandalously.* *Peter* looked with a great deal of Concern upon his Mistress, and when he viewed her Beauty and comely Proportion and Stature, loath to part with her, he came near, and gave her good Words, and would fain have perswaded her to desist from her Enterprize. He told her, that he was rich and honourable, that he had a great many fine Seats, and the like, which should all be at her Service; and desired her to take Pity of herself, and not to be necessary to her own Death. To which she answered, *Thou Infidel, Scoundrel, vile Rascal, why dost not come a little nearer, that I may beat thy Brains out?* This nettled him to purpose; so he drew his Sword, and bid his Men fall upon them; and told them, that it would be a very scandalous thing to them in all the

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

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Alwákidi.

the Neighbourhood of *Syria* and *Arabia*, if they should be beaten by the Women. The Women were just now at their last Prayers, but they held up bravely ; and it happened fortunately, that whilst they were thus engaged, *Caled* and his Party came up. They wondered what was the Matter when they saw the Dust fly, and the Swords glitter. *Calid* sent *Raphi* to enquire into the Business; who rode in great hast, and came back quickly, and gave him an Account how things stood. *Caled* said, he did not at all wonder at it, for the Women of those Tribes were used to it. As soon as *Derar* heard the News, he put forward his Horse in all haste to go and help the Women. *Softly*, *Derar*, *softly*, said *Caled*; *not so fast : A man that goes leisurely about his Business, shall sooner gain his Point, than he that goes to work rashly.* *Derar* answered, *I han't Patience, I must go and help my Sister.* Then *Caled* set his Men in order, and commanded them, as soon as they came up, to encompass their Enemies. As soon as *Caulah* saw the Saracens appear, she cried out, *Look ye, my Girls, God has sent us Help now.* When the Greeks saw the Saracens draw near, they were in a pitiful Condition, and began to look upon one another very sorrowfully. *Peter* was now willing to contrive some way for his own Safety, and called out to the Women, *Heark ye,* said

said he, *Ipity your Condition, for we have Sisters and Mothers, and Wives of our own; therefore I let you go freely for Christ's Sake: Wherefore, when your People come up, let them know how civil I have been to you.* Having said thus, he turned towards the Saracens, and saw two Horsemen coming apace before the rest. One of them (*Caled*) was compleatly armed, the other (*Derar*) naked, with a Lance in his Hand, upon a Horse without a Saddle. As soon as *Caulab* saw her Brother, she called out, *Come hither Brother, though God is sufficient without thy Help.* Then *Peter* called out to her, and said, *Get thee to thy Brother, I give thee to him,* and turned away to get off as fast as he could. She called after him, and said, *This Fickleness of yours is not like the Manner of us Arabians: Sometimes you are wonderfully fond of me, and express a great deal of Love, and then again you are as cold and indifferent as may be. Away with thee,* says he, *I am not so fond of thee now as I was before.* Well, says she, *I am fond of you, and must have you by all Means.* Then she ran up to him, and *Caled* and *Derar* were just at hand. As soon as *Peter* saw *Derar*, he called out to him, and said, *There's your Sister, take her, and much good may she do you; I make a present of her to you.* *Derar* answered, *I thank you, Sir, I accept of your kind Present; but I have nothing*

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to

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*to return you in lieu of it, but only the Point of this Spear, therefore be pleased to accept of it. At the same time, Caulah struck the Legs of his Horse, and brought him down. Derar took him as he fell, and struck him through and through, and cut off his Head, and put it upon his Lance. Then all the Saracens fell on, and fought till they had killed three thousand Men. The rest ran away, and the Saracens pursued them to the Gates of Damascus, and returned enriched with Plunder, Horses and Armour. Caled now thought it high time to return to Abu Obeidah, fearing that Werdàn should have fallen upon him. They marched forthwith, and as soon as the Army saw Caled and his Company, they shouted out an *Allàh Acbar*, and Caled answered them again. When they came up to the Army, they gave them a particular Account of their whole Adventure, especially the Battle of the Women, with which they made themselves very merry. Then Caled called for Paul, who was taken Prisoner before, and bid him turn Mahometan, or else he would serve him as he had done his Brother. *What's that?* said Paul. *Why,* says Caled, *I have killed him, and here is his Head.* When he saw the Head he wept, and said, that he did not desire to survive him: Upon which Caled commanded him to be beheaded.*

The above-mentioned Saracen Captains, which *Abubeker. Alwákidi.*
Caled wrote to, to meet him at *Ajnadin*, prepared to come as soon as they had received the Letter: And that which was most remarkable, was, though they were at Places of a different Distance, yet they all happened to meet there the same Day, being *Friday* the 13th of *July*, *Hegirah XII. A. D. 633.*
 in the Year 633, which they all interpreted as a singular Providence. The Armies came within Sight of one another, and the Saracens were something at a stand, when they saw the Emperor's Army, consisting of no less than seventy Thousand. Those who had been in *Persia*, and seen the vast Armies of *Cosroes*, confessed that they had never seen any thing beyond this, either in respect of their Number, or Military Preparation. They sat down in sight of one another that Night, and early the next Morning prepared for Battle. *Caled* rode about amongst the Ranks of his Men, and told them, " That
 " they now saw the biggest Army of the
 " Greeks, that ever they were like to see ;
 " That if they came off Conquerors, all was
 " their own, and nothing would be able to
 " stand against them for the time to come :
 Therefore, adds he, *fight in good earnest, and take Religion's Part : And ' be sure that you do not turn your Backs, and so be damned for your Pains,*

¹ *Alcoran*, Chap. VIII. v. 15, 16.

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

*Stand close together, and don't make any Assault, till you hear the Word of Command; and see that you mind your Business, and have your Wits and your Hearts about you. Nor was Werdàn, on the other side, negligent in encouraging his Men to do their best. He called his Officers together, and said, You know that the Emperor has a great Concern upon him for you, and if you should shrink now you come to face your Enemies, and lose the Field, 'twould be such a Blow, as could never more be recovered, and these Arabs will take Possession of all, and kill your Men, and make Slaves of your Wives and Children. All is now at Stake; therefore stand to it stoutly, and don't flinch, but fight unanimously and courageously: Besides we have three to their one for your Comfort, and call upon Christ, and he will help you. Caled was very apprehensive of that great Army, and therefore was willing to go to work as warily as he could. He asked his Men, which of them would go and take a View of the Army, and bring him an Account of their Order and Number? Derar, who was never backward in any thing that belonged to a Soldier, proffered his Service. Well then, says Caled, thou shalt go, and God go along with thee; but I charge thee, Derar, that thou do not assault them, nor strike a Stroke without my Order, and so be accessory to thy own Destruction. Away he goes, and views
their*

their Order, their Arms and Standards, and Banners displayed, and Colours flying. *Werdàn* cast his Eye upon him, and imagining him to be a Scout, sent a Party of thirty Horse to seize him, and bring him into the Army. When they advanced, *Derar* ran away, and they after him; till he had drawn them a good way from the Army, and then he faced about, and fell upon them like a Lion. First he pushed one through with his Lance, and then another; and terrify'd them, and beat them grievously, till of thirty he had unhorsed seventeen. The rest fled before him, till they came pretty near the Grecian Camp, and then he turned off, and came back to *Caled*. *Did not I warn you not to fight without Order?* said *Caled*. *Nay*, said *Derar*, *I did not begin first, but they came out to take me, and I was afraid that God should see me turn my Back; and indeed I fought in good earnest, and without doubt God assisted me against them; and if it had not been for disobeying your Order, I should not have come away as I did; and I perceive already that they will fall into our Hands.*

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

Then *Caled* set his Army in good Order. *Meád Ebn Jabal*, and *Nomán Ebno'lmokarren* led the Right Wing; and *Sáid Ebn Amer*, and *Serjabil Ebn Hasanab* the Left. *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan* with four thousand Horse guarded the Baggage, Women and Children. *Caulah* and

Abubeker
Alwákldi.

Opheirah, and several other Women of the highest Rank and chief Families of the *Arabian Tribes*, with a great many more of inferiour Note, prepared themselves for the Battle. *Caled* turned about to them, and said, *Noble Girls, assure your selves, that what you do is very acceptable to God and his Apostle, and the Muslemans; you will hereby purchase a lasting Memory, and the Gates of Paradise will be opened to you. And assure your selves, that I repose a great deal of Confidence in you. If any Party of the Greeks fall upon you, fight for your selves; and if you see any of the Muslemans turn his Back, stay him, and ask him, whether he runs from his Family and Children; for by this means you will encourage the Muslemans to fight. Opheirah* told him, that they were all ready to fight till they died.

Then he rode about, and encouraged his Men, and bid them fight for the sake of their Wives and Children, and Religion, and stand close to it; for if they were beaten, they had no Place to escape to, nor any thing left to trust to. After this he went into the main Body of the Army, and stood there with *Anrou Ebno'l Aás*, *Abdo'rrabmán* the Caliph's Son, *Kais Ebn Hobéirah*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*, and several other Saracens of Note. The two Armies covered all the Plains: The Christians made a great Noise,
and

and the Saracens repeated as fast as they could, *Abubeker. Alwākidi.*
La Ilaha illa Allāh, Mohammed Resoul Allāh :

That is, *There is but one God ; Mahomet is the Apostle of God.* Our Author tells us, that just before the Battle began, there came out a grave old Man from the Christian Army, and went towards the Saracens, and enquired for the General. *Caled* came forth to him, and the old Man asked him, if he was the General? *They look upon me as such (said Caled) so long as I continue in my Duty towards God, and the Observation of what he has left us by his Prophet Mahomet of blessed Memory ; otherwise I have no Command or Authority over them.* The old Man told him, that they were come to invade a Land, which had been attempted oftentimes before, but with very ill Success. That those who had undertook the Conquest of it, had found their Sepultures in that very Place where they designed to erect their Empire. That, though they had lately obtained a Victory over the Christians, yet they must not expect that the Advantage would long continue on their side : That the Emperor had sent a very numerous Army : That the General however had sent him to acquaint him, that if they would depart without any Acts of Hostility, he would present every Saracen in the Army with a Suit of Cloaths, a Turbant, and a Piece of Money,

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

and the General himself with ten Suits, and an hundred Pieces. And to their Master *Abubeker*, the Caliph, an hundred Suits, and a thousand Pieces, *No*, said the Saracen, *no Peace, but either become Tributaries forthwith, or else Mahometans; otherwise the Sword must determine the Controversy betwixt us. And as for your great Army that you speak of; we are promised the Victory by our Prophet Mahomet, in the Book which was sent down to him. And then for your Proffer of giving us Vests, Turbants and Money, we shall in a short time be Masters of all your Cloaths, and all the good Things you have about you. Meád encouraged the Saracens with the Hopes of Paradise, and the Enjoyment of everlasting Life, if they fought for the Cause of God and Religion. Softly, said Caled, let me get them all into good Order before you set them upon fighting. When he had done setting them in Order, he said, Look to it, for your Enemies are two to your one, and there is no breaking them, but by out-winding them. Hold out till the Evening, for that is the time in which the Prophet obtained the Victory. Have a care you don't turn your Backs, for God sees you. The Armies were now come very near, and the Armenian Archers shot at the Saracens, and killed and wounded a great many; but Caled would not let a Man stir. Derar, at last, impatient of Delay, said,*

What

What do we stand still for? The Enemy will think we are afraid of him; prithee give us the Word of Command, and let us go. Caled gave

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

him leave, and he began the Battle; and in a little time a great Part of both the Armies were engaged, and a great many fell on both sides, but more Christians than Saracens. *Werdàn* perceiving the great Disadvantage his Men labour'd under, was in great Perplexity, and advis'd with his Officers what was best to be done. For no Art of a General, nor any Terms he could propose, were sufficient to encourage the Christians to fight so desperately as the Saracens, who cared not for their Lives, being all of them fully perswaded, that whosoever was killed in fighting for the Propagation of their Religion, should certainly receive a Crown of Martyrdom. And it is most true, that nothing will make Men expose themselves unconcernedly to the greatest Dangers, like a Spirit of Enthusiasm. It was agreed, that the best thing they could do, would be to circumvent the General of the Saracens by some Stratagem, which would extremely discourage the rest, and facilitate the Victory. This was attempted after this manner: A Messenger was to be sent to *Caled*, to desire him to found a Retreat, and let the Battle cease for that Day, and meet *Werdàn* the next Morning, at a certain Place within View of both the Armies,

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

where they, the two Generals alone, might treat, in order to find out some Expedient for the preventing the Effusion of so much Blood, as must of necessity be lost on both sides, if the War continued. There was to be an Ambuscade of ten Men conveniently placed, to seize the Saracen. The Message was delivered to one *David*, who was privy to the Secret. When he had received his Errand, he went and enquired for *Caled*, who rode to him, and with a stern Look presented his Lance. *Sir*, said *David*, *I am no Soldier, but have only a Message to deliver to you; therefore pray turn your Lance away whilst I am talking with you.* Upon which *Caled* laid his Lance a-cross upon the Pommel of his Saddle, and said, *Speak to the Purpose then, and tell no Lyes.* So *I will*, says *David*, *if you will promise me Security for my self and my Family.* Which *Caled* had no sooner done, but he acquainted him thoroughly with the whole Business. *Well*, said *Caled*, *go and tell him, it shall be so.* Presently after *Abu Obeidah* met *Caled*, and observing an unusual Briskness and Gaiety in his Countenance, asked him, What was the Matter? *Caled* told him the Contrivance, and added, *I durst venture to go alone, and engage to bring thee all their Heads along with me.* *Abu Obeidah* told him, that he was a Person likely enough to do such a thing; but since the Pro-

phet

phet had no where commanded them to expose themselves to unnecessary Danger, he would have him take ten Men to answer them.

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

Derar thought it not the best way to defer it till the Morning, but was for going that Evening to surprize that Ambuscade. Having obtained Leave, he went, after it was dark, towards the Place whether *Werdàn* had sent his Ambuscade before. When he came near, he ordered his Men to stand still, whilst he went to observe their Posture. Then he put off his Cloaths (for he was as often used to go without as with) and took his Sword, and went creeping along, till he came so near as to hear them snore, for they were all drunk and asleep, and their Arms lay under their Heads. Having so fair an Opportunity, he had much ado to forbear killing them himself; but considering that one of them might possibly awaken the other, he came back, and brought his Companions along with him, who took each of them his Man, and dispatched the Ambuscade with all imaginable Silence and Secrecy. The next thing to be done, was to strip these Men, and put on their Cloaths, for fear any of the Greeks should chance to come by the Place, and seeing them in their *Arabian* Habit, make a Discovery. *Derar* told them, that it was a good Omen, and that he did not at all question but that God would fulfil his Promise to them.

About

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

About break of Day, *Caled* said the Morn-Prayer in the Camp, and drew up his Army in order of Battle : Then he put on a yellow Silk Vest and a green Turbant. As soon as the Christians saw the Saracens in order, *Werdàn* sent an Horseman, who rode up to the Front of the Saracen Army, and cried out, *Heark ye, you Arabians ; Is this fair Play ? Have you forgot your Agreement you made with us Yesterday ? How !* said *Caled ; what ! charge us with Breach of Promise ?* The General, answered the Messenger, *expects you should be as good as your Word, and meet him, in order to treat of a Peace. Go and tell him,* says *Caled, that I am just a coming.* Quickly after, *Caled* saw *Werdàn* go out upon a Mule, very richly dressed and adorned with Gold Chains and precious Stones. *Hab !* says he, *this will be all ours by and by, if it please God.* Then he went after him, and when he was almost at him, they both alighted. When *Werdàn* had drawn him pretty near the Place where the Ambush lay ; they sat down opposite to one another to discourse, but *Werdàn* still kept his Hand upon the Hilt of his Sword, for fear the Saracen should chance to fall upon him on a sudden. *Come,* says *Caled, now let us hear what you have to say ; but be sure you deal fairly, and like a Man, and tell no Lyes ; for it does not at all become Men in eminent Stations to*
deal

deal deceitfully, and use Tricks. What I desire of you, said Werdàn, is, that you would let us know what you would have, and come to some reasonable Terms, that we may have Peace, and live at quiet on both Sides; and whatsoever you desire of us, we will give you freely, for we know that you are a poor sort of People, and live in a barren Country, and in great Scantiness and Scarcity; therefore if a small Matter will content you, we will give it you willingly. Alas! for thee, thou Christian Dog, said Caled, we bless God that he has provided a great deal better for us than to live upon your Charity, and what you please to spare; for he has given all that you have freely to us, nay even your Wives and your Children to be divided amongst us, unless you can say, LA ILAHA, &c. There is but one God, Mahomet is the Apostle of God: Or if you do not like that, pay Tribute. If that will not do, then let the Sword determine between us, and God give the Victory to which Side he pleases. There are no other Terms to be had of us. As for your talking of Peace to us, we for our parts take more Delight in War; and for your saying that we are such a contemptible People, I would have you know that we reckon you no better than Dogs. You see I don't talk like a Man that is much inclined to Peace; and if the Meaning of your calling me hither, was, that you might have me alone;
here

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

here we are in a Place by our selves, far enough both from my Army and yours : Come and fight with me if you dare. Immediately upon this, Werdàn rose up, but trusting to the Ambuscade, made no haste to draw his Sword. Caled seized him forthwith,, and shook him, and turned him about every way. Then he cried, Come out, come hither, this Arab has seiz'd me, As soon as they heard his Voice, they came forth, and Werdàn, at first Sight, took them to be his own Men ; but when they came nearer, and he saw Derar before them, with nothing on but a Pair of Breeches, and shaking his Sword at him, he began to be extreamly uneasy, and said to Caled, I beg of you not to deliver me into the Hands of that Devil ; I hate the Sight of him, it was he that killed my Son. Caled swore by God, that when he came up, he would kill him too. By this time Derar was come up, and said, Now thou cursed Wretch, what is become of thy Deceit, with which thou would'st have ensnared the Companions of the Apostle of God ? And was just a going to kill him. Hold, said Caled, let him alone till I give you the Word. When he saw himself in the midst of his Enemies, he fell upon the Ground, and began to cry Quarter : But Caled answered, Là Amân illà Beïmân ; No Quarter, (or Security) where there is no Faith kept. You

† Arab. Shaitbán.

pretended

pretended to Peace, and at the same time designed to murder me treacherously. The Word was no sooner out of his Mouth, but *Derar* struck his Head off. Then they stript him, and put his Head upon the Point of *Caled's* Lance, and marched towards the Army. As soon as the Christians espied them, they thought they had been their own Men, and that *Wer-dàn* had brought the Saracen's Head along with him. The Saracens thought so too, and were under great Concern for *Caled*. As soon as ever they came near, they charged the Christians, and *Abu Obeidah* (who commanded the Army in *Caled's* Absence) knew them, and told his Men. Then they fell on, and engaged in all Parts with all the Vigour imaginable. The Fight, or rather the Slaughter, continued till Evening. The Christian Army was entirely routed and defeated. The Saracens killed that Day fifty thousand Men. Those that escaped fled, some of them to *Cæsarea*, others to *Damascus*, and some to *Antioch*. The Saracens took Plunder of inestimable Value, and a great many Banners, and Crosses made of Gold and Silver, precious Stones, Silver and Gold Chains, rich Cloaths, and Arms without Number; which *Caled* said he would not divide till *Damascus* was taken. Upon this *Caled* sends a Messenger with the following Letter, to *Abubeker* the Caliph.

In

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

“ From the Servant of God, *Caled Ebn Wal-*
 “ *led*, to the Successor of the Apostle of God,
 “ upon whom be the Blessing of God. I praise
 “ God, who is the only God, and there is none
 “ other besides him ; and I pray for his Prophet
 “ *Mahomet*, upon whom be the Blessing of God :
 “ And I praise him, and give Thanks to him
 “ still more, for his delivering the True Believers,
 “ and destroying the Idolaters, and extinguish-
 “ ing the Light of those that err. I acquaint
 “ thee, O Emperor of the Faithful, that we met
 “ with the Grecian Army at *Ajnadin*, with *Wer-*
 “ *dàn* the Prefect of *Hems*; and they swore by*
 “ Christ, that they would not run away, nor
 “ turn their Backs, though they were killed to
 “ the last Man : So we fell upon them, calling
 “ upon God, and trusting upon him, and God
 “ supported us, and gave us the Victory, and our
 “ Enemies were decreed to be overcome, and
 “ we killed them on all Sides, to the Number
 “ of fifty thousand Men ; and we lost of the
 “ Muslemans in two Battles, four hundred and
 “ seventy-four Men ; and this Letter is written
 “ on the fifth Day of the Week, being the thir-
 “ tieth of the first *Jomâdah* ; and we are now
 “ returning to *Damascus*, if it please God. Pray
 “ for our Success and Prosperity. Farewell. The

* Arab. *Bidimihim*, i. e. by their Religion.

“ Peace

“Peace and Blessing of God be upon thee and
“all the Muslemans.”

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

As soon as the Messenger told the Caliph the News, he fell down and worshipped God. Then he opened the Letter, and read it over first to himself, and then to those that were about him. The News immediately flew through all the Country; and the hungry *Arabians* came thronging to *Medinah*, to beg Leave of the Caliph to go into *Syria*, all of them expecting great Places and large Possessions, and were very willing to exchange the uncultivated Desarts of *Arabia Petraea*, for the Delicacies of *Damascus*. Omar did by no means approve of their Motion, but said to *Abubeker*, “You know what sort of Fel-
“lows these were to us, when time was: When
“they were able to oppose us, and we were
“but few in Number, they endeavoured, to the
“utmost of their Power, to ruin our Religion,
“and put out the Light of God; and when
“they did turn, it was only to save themselves;
“and now they see God has been pleased to bless
“our Forces with Success, they are willing to
“share in the Spoil, and they’ll go and make a
“Disturbance among those who have got it with
“their Swords. Therefore I pray let none of
“them go; but let those that have won it, wear
“it.” *Abubeker* was of his Mind. As soon as the Inhabitants of *Meccah* heard it, they were
greatly

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

greatly concerned, and thought themselves very much affronted. Some of the *Coreistæ* (a noble Tribe among the *Arabs*, and which had violently opposed *Mahomet* at his first setting out, and made him flee from *Meccah* to *Medinab*) came in a Body, to make their Complaint to *Abubeker* the Caliph, whom they found sitting with some Muslemans, and *Ali* on his Right-Hand, and *Omar* on his Left. When they had paid due Reverence to the Caliph, *Abu Sophyan* accosted *Omar* after this manner. *It is true, in the Times¹ of Ignorance, there used to be Clashing and Difference amongst us; and we did what we could against you, and you the like to us. But now since it has pleased God to direct us both into the true Religion, that ought to destroy all Hatred and Animosities between us. For the Faith destroys Hatred and Variance, as well as Idolatry. And yet you continue your Hatred still, notwithstanding we are your Brethren in Religion, and your near Relations besides. What is the Meaning of this Spite both formerly and now? Is it not time to purify your Hearts from Envy? That you did come into the Profession of the true Religion before us we confess, and are willing, upon that score, to pay you all the Respect which is due. Having said thus, he held his Peace, and Arak commended him, and seconded him. Then Abu Sophyan desired the Caliph and all the Muslemans*

¹ So they call all the Time before *Mahomet*.

to bear witness, that he took upon himself freely to fight for the Cause of God: The like did all the Chief of *Meccab* which were present. This satisfied the Caliph, and made him be content to let them go. Upon which he prayed to God to confirm them in their good Resolutions, and bless them with answerable Success. Then he wrote a Letter to *Caled*; in which he acquainted him, that he had received his with great Satisfaction; and that he had sent to him some of the Chief of *Meccab*, and the adjacent Country, particularly *Amrou Ebn Maadi*, and *Malek Alashtar*: And ordered him, after he had conquered *Damascus*, to go on to *Hems*, *Mearrah*, and *Antioch*; and bid him be kind to the Muslemans, and think upon Mortality, and so concluded. When he had done, he sealed it with *Mahomet's* Seal, and delivered it to *Abdo'rrhman*, the same that brought him the Letter from *Caled*.

When *Caled* sent the Letter to *Abubeker*, he was upon his March from *Ajnadin* to *Damascus*. The poor Inhabitants had heard the lamentable News of the Loss of the Emperor's General and Army. In the mean time, whilst the *Saracens* were absent, a great many of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, to secure themselves, got into *Damascus*. The Return of the *Saracens* was expected daily, and all manner of Warlike Preparation was made for the enduring a Siege.

Abubeker.
Alwakidi.

Their Engines were planted upon the Walls, and Banners displayed. In a little time their Hearts aaked, when they saw the *Saracens* appear with a formidable Army, flushed with Success, and enriched with the Spoils of their Countrymen and Neighbours. *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* led the Front, consisting of above nine thousand Horse. After him came *Abu Sophyan* with two thousand: Then *Serjabil Ebn Hasfanab* (who was one of *Mahomet's* Secretaries when he wrote the *Alcoran*:) After him *Omar Ebn Rebiyah*. *Caled* marched in the Rear, and brought up the rest of the Army under the Standard of the Black Eagle. When they were within a Mile of the City, *Caled* called all the Generals together, and gave them their respective Charges, and said to *Abu Obeidab*, " You know very well the Villainy and
" Deceit of these People, and how they came
" and fell upon our Rear, as we were in our
" March to *Ajnadin*. Have a care of them there-
" fore, and don't be so favourable, nor agree to
" give them Security, for they will certainly
" play some Trick with you. Go and sit down
" before the Gate *Jabiyah*, at a good Distance,
" and assault them frequently, and don't let the
" Length of the Time make you uneasy, for
" Victory is the Reward of Patience." *Abu Obeidab* went according to Order, and pitched his Tent, which was made of Hair; for he would

by

by no means suffer them to set up one of those rich Tents which they had taken from the *Greeks* at *Ajnadin*. Which my Author says, "Proceed-
" ed from his great Humility to God, and the
" ' Shortness of his Hope, and that he might
" not please himself with the gay Things of this
" World, and the Possessions of it. For they did
" not fight for Dominion, but in hopes of re-
" ceiving a Reward from God, and having their
" Portion in a future State. And they used to
" set those Tents and Spoil which they had ta-
" ken, at a great Distance from them; and if
" at any time they found any Victuals of the
" Christians, they would not eat it, because
" the Name of God was not mentioned over it
" when it was killed." *Abu Sophyan* was placed
over against the *Little Gate*; *Serjabil Ebn Ha-*
sanab at *St. Thomas's Gate* with 2000 Horse;
Amrou Ebn'ol Aâs at *Paradise Gate*; *Kais Ebn*
Hobeirah sat down before the Gate *Kaisân*.
There was another, which was called *St. Mark's*
Gate; where there never was any fighting,
(whether because of the Incommodiousness of
the Place, or for what other Reason, I know
not) which upon that Account was called *Bao'b-*
'salâmab, *The Gate of Peace*. After he had
given Orders, he went himself and sat down

* Arab. *Kesra'lami*.

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

before the East Gate. Then he called *Derar* to him; and gave him the Command of two thousand Horse, and ordered him to keep riding round about the Camp, and never stand still long in any Place, for fear any Succours should come from the Emperor, and surprize the Camp: *And* (says he) *if they be too hard for thee, send to me, and I'll help thee. I suppose then* (said *Derar*) *that I am to stand still the mean while! No, no,* (said *Caled*) *I don't mean so neither.* There were none of the Saracens on Horse-back, but those which were with *Derar*, whose Business it was to ride round the Camp, and guard it: For the Saracens, if they engaged Horse, used their Horses: If otherwise, they for the most part fought on Foot. *Caled* having thus formed his Siege, the next Morning early the Besieged sallied out, and the Fight continued till the Evening. That same Day *Caled* received *Abubeker's* Letter, and after the Fight was over, sent it to the Generals, who were posted at the several Gates.

The poor Inhabitants perceiving themselves now besieged in good earnest, began to think of coming to Terms, and rather submit to pay Tribute, and so secure their Lives and Fortunes, than by standing it out, expose themselves to inevitable Death. The chief of them met, and a considerable part of them were very much inclined

clined to surrender. *Thomas*, the Emperor's Son-in-law, lived then in *Damascus*, but as a private Man, not in any Commission; for though the Emperor had offered him honourable Posts, he refused to accept of any Employment; but was nevertheless a Person of great Courage, and an excellent Soldier. Out of Respect to his Quality and Abilities, the Citizens thought it adviseable to do nothing rashly, without having first consulted him. When they came to his Palace, he seemed to wonder, *That these vile Arabs, poor Wretches, naked and barefoot, and far from completely armed, should be able to put them in such a Consternation.* He told them, *That the Arabs were Masters of no Courage, but what was wholly owing to their Fear: That there was a great deal of Difference, both in respect of Number, Arms, and every thing else that made an Army considerable, between them and the Damascens.* Adding, *That they had no Reason to despair of the Victory.* The Citizens told him, with Submission, that he was under a great Mistake: *For the late Victories of the Arabs had furnished them very well with Arms. Besides, (said they) they all fight like mad Men; for they encounter us naked, or any way, though under never so great Disadvantages; for they stedfastly believe, that every one of their own Men that is killed, passes immediately to Paradise, and every one of ours to Hell;*

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

and this makes them desperate. To which Thomas answered, That it was plain 'from thence, that they had no true Courage, who were forced to make use of such an Artifice to encourage themselves to fight. Well, Sir, said they, if you will be pleased to help us, and put us in a way to make a Defence, we shall be at your Service, otherwise we must surrender. Thomas was afraid they should be in earnest; and, after a little Pause, he promised to go out with them the next Morning.

They kept Watch all the Night, and supplied the Absence of the Sun with numberless Lights placed in the Turrets. The Saracens were encouraging one another to do their utmost against the Enemies of God, as they used to call all but themselves. In the Morning early they prepared for Battle; and the Saracens were ready to make a General Assault. All the Generals said their Prayers among their Men, and Caled bad them hold out, for they should rest after Death; adding, That is the best Rest which shall never be succeeded by any Labour. Thomas was ready in the Morning, and just as he was a going out, they set up a Crucifix at the Gate, and the Bishop, attended with some other of the Clergy, brought the New Testament, and placed it at a little Distance from the Crucifix. As Thomas went out at the Gate, he laid his Hand upon the Cover of the Testament,

ment, and said, *O God! if our Religion be true, help us, and deliver us not into the Hand of our Enemies; but overthrow the Oppressor, for thou knowest him. O God, help those which profess the Truth, and are in the right way.* Serjabil heard him say something, but could not tell what; and when *Romanus* (who was the treacherous Governour of *Bosra*, and used to be their Interpreter) had explained it to him, he was very angry, and cried out; *Thou liest, thou Enemy of God; for Jesus is of no more account with God than Adam. He created him out of the Dust, and made him a living Man, walking upon the Earth, and afterwards raised him to Heaven.* The Battle was joined forthwith, and *Thomas* fought admirably well; he was an incomparable Archer, and shot a great many of the Saracens. Among the rest he wounded *Abán Ebn Saïd* with a poisoned Arrow. *Abán* drew out the Arrow, and unfolding his Turban, bound up the Wound. But he quickly felt the Effect of the Poison in his Body, and not being able to hold up any longer, was carried into the Camp, where his Friends would by all means unbind the Wound, to dress it; but he told them, if they did, he should die instantly. Which accordingly happened, for they had no sooner opened it, but he immediately languished; and when he could speak no longer, continued testifying, by Signs, the Stedfast-

ness

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

ness of his Belief in God and *Mahomet*. He was newly married; no longer ago than when the Saracens were at *Ajnadîn*, to a brave Virago, one of the fighting sort, who could use a Bow and Arrows very well. As soon as she heard the News of his Death, she came running in great Haste; and when she saw him, she bore it with admirable Patience, and said, *Happy art thou, my Dear, thou art gone to thy Lord, who first joined us together, and then parted us asunder: I will revenge thy Death, and endeavour to the utmost of my Power to come to the Place where thou art, because I love thee. Henceforth shall no Man ever touch me more, for I have dedicated myself to the Service of God*. Then they washed him (as is their Custom) and buried him forthwith, with the usual Solemnities. She never wept nor wail'd, but with a Courage above what could be expected from the Weakness of her Sex, armed herself with his Weapons, and went into the Battle without *Caled's* notice. When she came into the Field, she asked whereabouts it was that *Abân* was kill'd. They told her, over against *St. Thomas's* Gate, and that *Thomas*, the Emperor's Son-in-law, was the Man that did it, Away she went towards the Place, and with the first Arrow shot the Standard-bearer in the Hand. The Standard fell down, and the Saracens instantly snatch'd it up, and carried it off.

Thomas

Thomas was grievously concerned at the Loss of the Standard, and laid about him furiously, and ordered his Men to look about them narrowly, to see if they could find it any where, and retake it, if possible. When the Saracens that had it saw themselves hard beset, they shifted it from one to another, till it came to *Serjabil's* Hands. The Damascens followed *Thomas* with a great deal of Courage and Vigour, and there began a most bloody Battle; and all the while the Engines played from the Walls upon the Saracens, and threw Stones and Arrows as thick as Hail. They plied them so well from the Walls, that the Saracens were forced to retreat, and fight out of the reach of the Engines. *Thomas* at last spied the Standard in *Serjabil's* Hand, and made up to him, and fell upon him like a Lion. Upon which *Serjabil* threw the Standard away, and engaged his Adversary. Whilst they were fighting, and every one admired *Thomas's* Valour, *Abân's* Wife saw him, and asked who it was: They told her, it was the same Man that killed her Husband. As soon as she heard that, she levelled an Arrow at him, and shot him into the Eye; so that he was forced to retire into the City. The Saracens followed him close, and killed three hundred in the Pursuit, and would have gone after him further, but they durst not for the Engines.

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

Thomas

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

Thomas had his Eye dressed, but would by no means be perswaded to go to his House, though the Inhabitants of the Town intreated him very much, and told him, that there was no Good to be done with these *Arabs*, but that the best way would be to surrender the Town. But he, being a Man of undaunted Courage and Resolution, said, they should not come off so; that they should not take his standard, and put his Eye out unrevenged. He considered what a Reflection it would be upon his Honour, and how the Emperor would look upon it, if he should suffer himself to be disheartned and daunted by the *Arabs*. The Battle continued till Night parted them; *Thomas* all the while continued in the Gate, meditating Revenge. When it was dark, he sent for the Chief Men of the City, and not at all daunted, said to them, *Look ye, you have to do with a People, who have neither good Manners, nor Religion, nor any Faith or Honesty belonging to them, (for which Words my Author is very angry with him, and gives him an hearty 'Curse) and if they should make any Agreement with you, and give you Security, they'll never stand to their Word, but lay the Country waste: And how can you bear to see what is dearest to you invaded, and your*

* Arab. *Kádaba'lláin Achzàho'lláh*; that is, The accursed (meaning *Thomas*) lyed, God confound him.

poor

poor Children made Slaves, and your selves turned out of House and Harbour, and deprived of all the Conveniencies of Life? They told him, they were ready at his Service, either to fight upon the Walls, or to sally. Then he ordered them every Man to make ready with all possible speed and all the Silence imaginable, that they might not give the least Alarm to the Saracens. All the armed Men were drawn up at the several Gates, and upon a Signal given by one single Stroke upon a Bell, the Gates were all opened at the same instant; the Christians (some few only excepted, who were left to secure the Gates and the Walls) sallied out all together, and poured in upon the Saracen Camp like a Torrent, in hopes of finding them wounded and tired, and altogether unprovided to receive so vigorous an Attack. The whole Camp was immediately alarmed; and as soon as *Caled* knew it, he said, *O God, who never sleepest, look upon thy Servants, and do not deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies.* Then he ordered *Phel-jân Ebn Zeyâd* to supply his Place, and rode with four hundred Men as fast as he could, and the Tears lay upon his Cheeks for the Concern he had upon him for his dear Saracens. The Care of *Serjabil* and *Abu Obeidah* made him very anxious, being well aware of *Thomas's* Valour. When he came near the Gate, he found

Abubeker.
Alwâkidi.

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

found how things stood; *Thomas* had fallen violently upon the Saracens, and before he came out, commanded his Men to give Quarter to none but the General. The *Jews*, which were in *Damascus*, plaid the Engines upon the Saracens. *Thomas* was again engaged with his former Adversary *Serjabil*. *Abân's* Wife was among *Serjabil's* Men, and did great Execution with her Bow and Arrows, till she had spent them all but one, which she kept to make Signs with as she saw Occasion, Presently one of the Christians advanced up towards her, she shot him in the Throat, and killed him, and was then taken Prisoner. *Serjabil* at last struck a violent Stroke, which *Thomas* receiving upon his Buckler, *Serjabil's* Sword broke. *Thomas* thought himself sure of him, and had certainly either killed him, or taken him Prisoner, but *Abdo'r-rakmán* and *Abân* (*Othman's* Son, who was afterwards Caliph) came up at that instant with a Regiment of fresh Horse, and rescued both him and *Abân's* Wife. *Thomas* perceiving the Saracens came in so fast upon him, retired into the City. We said before that *Abu Obeidab* was posted at the Gate *Jabiyah*; he was in his Tent when the Christians first sallied out, and went to Prayers. Afterwards, whilst his Men were engaged, he took a Party, and got between the Christians and the City; so that they

they were surrounded, and charged on both Sides. They made a quick Dispatch for them, for never a Man that went out at that Gate, returned again: And though those that sallied at the other Gates escaped something better, yet the Christians had no Reason to boast of any Advantage, having lost that Night several thousand Men.

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

The Christians now quite disheartned, came about *Thomas*, with repeated Intreaties to surrender; they told him, they had lost above half their Men, and what were left were not sufficient for the Defence of the Town: They told him at last, in plain Terms, that as to what concerned himself, he might manage as he pleased, but for their Parts they were resolved to get as good Terms for themselves as they could. *Thomas*, however, endeavoured to persuade them to stay till he should write to the Grecian Emperor, and accordingly did write. The Saracens continued fighting hard, and reduced the Besieged to very great Streights, who now every Day made a worse Defence than other. They desired *Caled* to leave off the Assault, that they might have a little time to consider: But he turned a deaf Ear to them, for he had rather take them by Force, put them to the Sword, and let his Saracens have the Plunder, than that they should surrender, and have

Security

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

Security for themselves and their Fortunes. But *Abu Obeidab* was of a quite different Disposition, a well meaning, merciful Man, who had rather at all times that they should surrender, and become Tributaries, than be exposed to any Extremity; and this the Besieged knew very well: Wherefore, one Night they sent a Messenger that understood *Arabick*, out at that Gate where *Abu Obeidab* was posted, who called out to the Centinels, and desired safe Conduct for some of the Inhabitants of *Damascus* to come to their Master *Abu Obeidab*, in order to talk of an Agreement. As soon as *Abu Obeidab* was acquainted with the News, he was very glad to hear it, and sent *Abu Hobeirah* to the *Damascens*, to let them know that they should have free Liberty to go where they pleased. They asked him whether or no he was one of *Mahomet's* Companions, that they might depend upon him? He told them, that he was, but that made no Difference; for if the meanest Slave among them had given them Security, it would have been all one, for they should have performed it, because God had said, in the Book which he sent to their Prophet *Mahomet*,
'Perform your Covenant, for that shall be called to an Account. Upon this, about an hundred of the Chief of the Citizens and Clergy went out,

² *Alcoran*, Chap. XVII. 36.

and when they came near the Camp, some of the Saracens met them, and took off their Circingles, and conducted them to *Abu Obeidab's* Tent; who used them very civilly, and bid them sit down, and told them that their Prophet *Mahomet* had commanded them to pay Respect to Persons of Rank and Quality. They were very glad to find him so courteous, and when they came to talk of terms, they first desired that their Churches might be secured to them, and not any way alienated. He granted them seven Churches, and gave them a Writing, but did not set his own Name to it, nor any Witnesses, because he was not General. Then he went, attended with about an hundred Men, to take Possession, When he came to the Gates, he demanded Hostages; which being delivered, he entered into the City.

Caled was altogether ignorant of this Transaction, and was, at the very same time when this Business was concluded, making a sharp Assault at the East Gate, being especially provoked at the Loss of *Caled Ebn Saïd* (*Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* his Brother, by the Mother's Side) whom one of the Besieged had shot with a poisoned Arrow. In the mean time, there came to *Caled* from the Town one *Josias* a Priest, who told him, that having been long conversant with ancient Writings and Prophecies, and especially the

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

the Prophet *Daniel*, he was abundantly satisfied of the future Greatness of the Saracen Empire; and proffered his Service to introduce him and his Army into the Town, upon Condition that *Caled* would grant him Security for him and his. Whether any Conviction that he had met with in reading that Prophet, or the Desire he had to preserve himself, was the prevailing Motive with him, I shall not determine. Neither did *Caled* much trouble himself about that, but gave him his Hand to perform the Condition, and sent with him an hundred Men, most of them *Homerites*, (a warlike Tribe of the *Arabs*) and bid them as soon as they were entered to cry out as loud as they could *Allàh Acbar*, and make themselves Masters of the Gates; and break the Bolts, and remove the Chains, that he with the rest of the Army might march into the City without any Difficulty. This was accordingly performed. The poor Christians, as soon as ever they heard the *Tecbîr*, (so the *Arabs* call the crying out *Allàh Acbar*) were sensible that the City was lost; and were seized with such an Astonishment, that they let their Weapons fall out of their Hands. *Caled* entering at the East Gate with the Saracens, put all to the Sword, and Christian Blood streamed down the Streets of *Damascus*. They went on thus murdering all they found,

till

till they came to St. Mary's Church, where they met with *Abu Obeidah* and his Company. When *Caled* saw *Abu Obeidah*, and his Men in their March, and the Priests and Monks before them, and all the Saracens with their Swords by their Sides, not so much as one drawn, he wondered what was the Matter. *Abu Obeidah* perceived in him Tokens of Dislike, and said, *God has delivered the City into my Hands by way of Surrender, and saved the Believers the Trouble of fighting.* At which *Caled* was very angry, and said, that he had taken it by the Sword, and they should have no Security. *Abu Obeidah* told him, that he had given them an Article in writing, which they had here to shew: *And how (said Caled) came you to agree with them, without acquainting me first? Did not you know me? Did not you know that I am your General, and ³Master of your Counsels? And therefore I'll put them every one to the Sword. I did not think (said Abu Obeidah) that when I had made an Agreement, or ⁴designed to do any thing, you would ever have contradicted me, or have gone about to make it void. But you shall not make it void, for I have given all these People my Protection, and that in the Name of God and his Prophet; and all the Muslemans that were with*

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

³ Arab. *Sáhhibo Ryecha.*

⁴ Arab. *Raáito Ráyan.*

Abubeker. *me liked it, and approved it, and we don't use to*
 Alwākidi. *be worse than our Word.*

There was a great Noise made on both sides, and *Caled* would not abate an ace. The hungry Arabs that were with him were eager to fall on, and thirsted after Blood and Plunder. The poor Inhabitants were now in a very calamitous Condition, for every Man of them had been murdered, or made a Slave, if *Abu Obeidab* had not stood their Friend; who seeing the *Arabs* fall on, killing some and taking others Prisoners, was extremely concerned, and called out in a Passion; *‘By God, my Word is looked upon as nothing, the Covenant which I make is broken.* Then he turned his Horse, and rode about among the Soldiers, and said, *I adjure you by the Apostle of God, that you meddle with none of them, till you see how Caled and I can adjust this Matter.* With much ado he made them forbear; then the chief Officers came to them, and they all went together into the Church, to debate this Affair. Several of them enclined to the more merciful side, for which they gave this very substantial Reason, *viz. That there were a*

‘Arab. Wallah, an Oath frequently used by the Arabs, who do not account it any Profanation of the Divine Name, to swear by it; but rather an Acknowledgment of his Omnipotence and Omnipresence; and therefore we find it used by the most religious among them.

great

great many Cities still to be taken, and if it should once be reported about the Country, that the Saracens had broke their Promise, after they had given Security; they must never expect to have any other Place surrender, but make the most obstinate Defence imaginable. At last some advised, that *Caled* should have the Disposal of that part of the Town which he had taken by the Sword, and *Abu Obeidah* of that which he had taken upon Articles; at least till such time as they could appeal to the *Caliph*, and be determined by his Sentence. This was so reasonable a Proposal, that *Caled* could not refuse it; so at last he consented that the People should have their Protection, but would give no Quarter to *Thomas* and *Herbîs*, nor any of their Soldiers. *Abu Obeidah* told him, that they were all included, and begged of him not to make any further Disturbance about it.

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

And now we have seen *Damascus*, the most noble and ancient City of *Syria*, taken by the *Saracens*; we must leave the Conquerors in Possession, and the miserable Inhabitants in their deplorable Circumstances, and take a View of Affairs at *Medinah*. ¹ *Abubeker* the *Caliph* died the same Day that *Damascus* was taken ², which was on *Friday* the twenty-third of *August*, in the

¹ *Alwákidi*.

² *Elmakîn*.

Abubeker.
Hegirah 13.
A. D. 634.

Year of our Lord six hundred and thirty-four; and of the *Hegirah* the thirteenth³. There are various Reports concerning his Death: Some say, that he was poisoned by the *Jews*, eating Rice with *Hareth Ebn Caldah*, and that they both died of it within a Twelvemonth after⁴. But *Ayesha* says, that he bathed himself upon a cold Day, which threw him into a Fever, of which he died within fifteen Days: All which time *Omar* said Prayers publicly in his Place.

⁵ When he perceived himself near his Departure, he called his Secretary, and gave him Directions to write as follows.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

“ This is the Testament of *Abubeker Ebn Abi*
“ *Kohâpha*, which he made at that time when
“ he was just a going out of this World, and en-
“ tering into the other. *A time in which the Infidel shall believe, and the wicked Person shall be
“ assured, and the Liar shall speak Truth. I appoint
“ *Omar Ebno'l Cbitâb* my Successor over you;
“ therefore hearken to him, and obey him. If he

³ *Abu'lpheda.*
Rabbîhi & Abu'lpheda.

⁴ *Abmod Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi*

⁵ Author of the History of the Holy Land, M.S. Arab. *Pocock*. Num. 362.

* That is, the Infidel and Wicked shall then be assured of the Reality of those Things relating to a future State which they disbelieved and ridiculed in their Lifetime.

“ does

“ does that which is right and just, 'tis what I think and know of him. If he does otherwise, every Man must be rewarded according to his Works. I intend to do for the best, but I don't know hidden Things: But those who do Evil shall find the Consequences of it. Fare ye well, and the Mercy and Blessing of God be upon you.”

When he designed to make *Omar* his Successor, *Omar* desired to be excused, and said, he had no need of that Place. To which *Abubeker* answered, that the Place had need of him, and so appointed him Caliph against his Will. Then he gave him such Instructions as he thought proper; and when *Omar* was gone out of his Presence, he lifted up his Hand, and said, O God! *I intend nothing by this but the People's Good, and I fear lest there should be any Difference among them; and I have set over them the best Man among them. They are thy Servants; unite them with thy Hand, and make their Affairs prosperous, and make him a good Governour; and spread abroad the Doctrine of the Prophet of Mercy, and make his Followers good Men.*

Elmakin says, that he was the first that gathered together the scattered Chapters of the Alcoran, and digested it into one Volume. For in *Mahomet's* Time they were only in loose and dispersed Writings. But when in the War which

Abubeker.

they had with *Moseilamah*, of which we have already given an Account, a great many of those who could read and repeat the Alcoran were killed: *Abubeker* was afraid lest any part of it should be lost; and gathered together what was extant in Writing, or what any of the Muslemans could repeat, and making one Volume of it, called it *Mus-haph*; which in the Arabick Tongue signifies a *Book* or *Volume*⁶. This Book was committed to the Custody of *Haphsah*, *Omar's* Daughter, and one of *Mahomet's* Wives. But *Joannes Andreas*, who was himself a Moor by Birth, and *Alfaqui* or chief Doctor of the Muslemans in *Sciatinia*, in the Kingdom of *Valencia* in *Spain*, and afterwards converted to the Christian Religion in the Year of our Lord 1487. says, that this was not done till the time of *Othman*, the third Caliph after *Mahomet*. *Eutychius* in his Annals says the same. I believe them both to be mistaken, because I find in⁷ *Abu'lpheda*, that when *Othman* came to be Caliph, he observing the Variety of different Readings which were spread abroad, copied this Book which had been delivered to *Haphsah*, and abolish'd and destroy'd all other Copies which had different Readings from this; obliging all the *Mahometans* to receive this Copy as the only authentick Alcoran. Which Action of his, I am fully persuaded, gave occa-

⁶ *Abu'lpheda*.⁷ *Kitab Almoctaser phi Abbâri 'l basbar*.

sion to some to report, that *Othman* was the first that gathered the Chapters of it into one Volume; a Piece of Work of that Importance, that it can scarcely be believed to have escaped the Zeal and Diligence of *Abubeker* and *Omar*. Abubeker.

⁸ As to the Character of this Caliph; he was a tall, lean Man, of a ruddy Complexion, and a thin Beard, which he used to tinge with such Colours as are frequently used in the Eastern Countries, to make it look more graceful. He never saved any Money in the publick Treasury; but every *Friday* at Night, distributed what there was among Persons of Merit; to the Soldiers first; and after them, to those that were any other way deserving. His Chastity, Temperance, and Neglect of the Things of this Life, were exemplary. He desired *Ayesha* to take an Account of all that he had gotten since he was Caliph, and distribute it among the Muslemans; being resolved not to be enriched by his Preferment, but serve the Publick *gratis*; only he took three *Drachmæ* (a Piece of Gold in use among the *Arabs* at that time; the true Value of which is now unknown to us) out of the publick Treasury, as a Reward of his Service. His whole Inventory amounted to the Value of no more than five of those *Drachmæ*; which when *Omar* heard, he said, That *Abubeker* had left his Successor a hard Pattern.

⁸ *Elmakin*.

Abubeker.

'Tis usual with some Authors, when they give Characters of great Men, to mention some of their Sentences, or wise Sayings. The *Arabs* have not been deficient in this Particular. *Nisaburiensis*, (called so from *Nisabour*, the Metropolis of *Chorasán*; as it is most common for *Arabick* Authors to be distinguished by the Place of their Birth as much as by their Names) has collected in a little Book the grave and witty Sayings of *Mahomet* and his Successors, and some of the Kings of *Persia*. Among some others which he has recorded of *Abubeker*, there are these two very remarkable ones; *Good Actions are a Guard against the Blows of Adversity*. And this; *Death is the easiest (or least considerable) of all things after it, and the hardest of all things before it*.

He was sixty-three Years old when he died; having reigned two (Lunar) Years, three Months and nine Days.

* *Nisabûri*, M.S. Arab. *Pocock*, Num. 62.

Omar Ebno'l Chitâb,

The Second Caliph after MAHOMET.

ABUBEKER having taken care of the Succession by his last Testament, all that Disturbance was prevented, which happened before upon the Death of *Mahomet*. I do not find in any Author, that *Ali* or his Party made any Opposition; but the same Day that *Abubeker* died, *Omar* was invested with the Regal and Pontifical Dignity, and saluted by universal Consent, *'The Caliph of the Caliph of the Apostle of God; that is, The Successor of the Successor of Mahomet*. But when they considered, that this Title was something too long; and that at the coming on of every new Caliph, it would grow longer still, they invented another, which should serve for all the Caliphs to come, and that was, *Amiro'l Mumenina; Imperator Credentium, Emperor of the Believers*. Which afterwards was used to the succeeding Caliphs; *Omar* being the first that was ever called by that Title.

Being thus confirmed in his new Dignity, he goes into the Pulpit, to make a Speech to the People. He did not say much; but the Substance of it was; " That he should not have

^{*} *Elmakin*.

" taken

Omar.

“ taken such a troublesome Charge upon himself, had it not been for the good Opinion that he had of them, and the great Hopes which he had conceived of their Perseverance in their Duty, and doing that which was commendable and Praise-worthy.” Thus the Ceremony being over, which in the Infancy of that Government, whilst they had not yet attained that Grandeur which their Successors afterwards arrived at, was not very great; every Man went home very well satisfied.

Omar having taken upon him the Government, was desirous of nothing more than to make some Conquests in *Irâk*; and in order to this, sends *Abu Obeid* with an Army, joining to him *Almothanna*, *Amrou*, and *Salit*, who marched with their Forces till they came to *Thaalabiyah*, where they pitched their Tents just by the River. *Salit*, considering all things well; and justly fearing that the Forces of the *Persians* were too great for them to encounter withal, did what he could to persuade *Abu Obeid* not to cross the River; telling him, that since the *Persians* were apparently too strong for them, it would be more advisable to reserve themselves for a fairer Opportunity, and retire into the Deserts, and there secure themselves as well as they could, till they had sent to the Caliph for fresh Supplies. But *Abu Obeid* was so far from being persuaded by what he

he said, that he called him Coward. *Mothanna* took him up, and told him, that what *Salit* had said was not the Effect of Cowardice, but that he had told him what he thought the best way; adding, that he was also of the same Opinion himself, and bad him have a care how he passed over to the Enemies, for fear he should bring himself and those that were with him, into such Danger as he could not bring them out of again. But *Abu Obeid*, deaf to all good Counsel, and impatient of Delay, forthwith commands a Bridge to be made, and marches over his Army. *Salit* and *Mothanna*, though they did not at all approve of his Conduct, yet having spoke, what they thought to no purpose, went over after him. The Soldiers followed him with an heavy Heart, grieved at the Rashness of their General, which they had just reason to fear would prove fatal to them.

As soon as they were got over the Bridge, *Abu Obeid* put his Men in Battle-array, as well as the Shortness of the time would permit; for the *Persian* Archers lay very hard at him, and wounded the Muslemans grievously. However *Abu Obeid* having got some part of his Army in tolerable Order, charged the *Persians* so furiously, that they could no longer keep their Ground, but ran away. *Abu Obeid* pursued, as being now assured of the Victory; but the *Persians* rallying again,

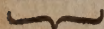
Omar.

again, and renewing their Charge, killed *Abu Obeid*, and routed the Muslemans. Those that remained of them made up to the Bridge; *Mothanna* all the while behaving himself like an experienced Captain, fought in the Rear, and brought them off with as little Loss as could be expected. At last they got over the Bridge, and *Mothanna* after them; who was no sooner over, but he ordered the Bridge to be cut down, to prevent the Pursuit of the *Persians*.

Mothanna having now secured himself, sent the Caliph an account of the whole Matter; and having acquainted him with *Abu Obeid's* Rashness in passing the River with so small a Number, contrary to the Judgment of all the Officers, together with the Success which had followed so unadvised an Undertaking, staid expecting further Orders. The Caliph commanded him to secure himself in his Camp as well as he could, and not stir till he should receive the Supplies which he would take care to raise for him with all possible Expedition. *Mothanna* obeys the Order; in the mean time the Caliph sends special Messengers to the Tribes of the *Arabs*, to raise Men for the Service, which they speedily performed. The new-raised Soldiers were mustered at *Medinah*, and *Jarîr Ebn Abdollâb* was appointed their General, and sent with Orders to join *Mothanna* and the rest of the Forces,

Forces, and, as Opportunity should serve, give Battle to the *Persians*. *Jarîr* being come to *Thaalabiyah*, where the rest of the Army was, they marched to *Dir Hind*, where they encamped, and made frequent Excursions, plundering and destroying that Part of *Irâk*, which lies next the River *Euphrates*. *Arzemidocht*, Queen of the *Persians*, perceiving the great Damage which she every Day received from the *Arabian* Army, thought it high time to look about her, and out of all the Chevalry, chose twelve thousand of the best Horse, and appointing *Mabran* General of them, sent them to repress the Insolencies and Outrages of the *Arabs*. They marched till they came to *Hirab*; where the *Arabians*, having called back those Troops which were gone to forage, met them. Both Armies were immediately joined. *Mothanna* fought amongst the thickest of the *Persians*, and was gotten into the midst of their Army, but bravely recovered himself, and returned to his own Men. The *Persians* behaved themselves so well, that some of the *Arabs* gave Ground. *Mothanna* perceiving his *Arabs* flinch, tore his Beard; labouring as much as in him lay, to stay the Flight of his Men, and restore the Battle, which he did in a great measure: And then began a most furious Engagement, which lasted from Noon till Sunset, neither Party giving way, or retreating. It

Omar.



is hard to guess which Side would have prevailed, had not the Death of *Mabran* determined it; for *Mothanna* meeting him in the Battle, they fought Hand to Hand. *Mabran* struck at *Mohanna*, but his Sword did not pierce his Armour: Then immediately *Mothanna* gave him such a Blow upon his Shoulder, that he fell down dead. The *Persians* having lost their General, were quite disheartened, quitted the Field, and fled to *Madayen*. The *Arabs* contented with their Victory, did not pursue them far, but returned to cure their wounded Men, and bury their Dead.

The *Persian* Nobility perceiving the Saracens every way too hard for them, and that they had now made themselves Masters of the Borders of their Country, and were very likely to get more, began to be very uneasy, and laid all the Blame upon their Queen, *Arzemidocht*. 'Tis very common in those Eastern Countries to measure things by the Success; and if things go ill, neither the Grand Signior himself, nor the Sultan of *Persia*, nor the Emperor of the *Moguls*, can be secured from the Murmurs, and oftentimes Mutinies of their Subjects; who, though things be managed with all the Care and Circumspection that Human Capacity can be Master of, yet if the Success does not answer their Expectation, never fail to complain of Male-administration, and

and represent their Princes as Persons unfit for Government, either for want of Abilities, or else because they look upon them to be *unlucky* and *unfortunate*, in which Matter the Eastern Nations are extremely superstitious. This the Queen experienced; for after this Battle was lost, and things went ill on all sides, the next thing they said, was, *This we get by suffering a Woman to rule over us*; as if all their Misfortunes had been owing to her Mismanagement; or, as if they might not have met with the same ill Success, under the Government of the wisest Prince in the World. However they considered nothing of this, but resolved to depose the poor Queen: Which they did, and placed *Yazdejerd* upon the Throne in her stead, who was a young Man of the Royal Family, descended from *Cosroes* the Son of *Hormisdas*. But they did not much mend the Matter, for the Government of this new King of theirs was more inauspicious than that of the Queen could be; for in her Reign, the Confines of the Empire were only invaded, but in his, all was entirely lost, and the whole Kingdom and Country of the *Persians* fell into the Hands of the Muslemans.

Yazdejerd being King, forthwith raised an Army out of the several Provinces of his Kingdom, and made *Rustam* their General, who was descended of a noble Family, and had Years
and

Omar.

and Experience sufficient to recommend him to such a Post. *Yazdejerd* gave him Orders to march to *Hirah*, where the *Arabs* lay; and at the same time sent another great Army, under the Command of *Albarzaman*, a *Persian* Nobleman, to *Ebwàs*, where *Abu Musa Alashari*, another of *Omar's* Captains, lay foraging and spoiling the Country. But all to no purpose: The *Persians*, as if the Period of their Empire was at hand, could have no Success, but were forced to submit to the rising Greatness of the Saracenic Empire. Both these *Persian* Generals were killed, and both the Armies entirely routed and defeated.

Abu'lpharagius, from whom I have taken this Account of the Transactions relating to *Persia*, is mistaken two Years, as to the time in which they were done; for he places them at the Beginning of *Omar's* Reign, which, as we have shewn before, was in the Year of our Lord six hundred and thirty-four. Now it is very well known that the *Persian* Æra (which they use to this Day) bears Date from the Beginning of that Year, in which this same *Yazdejerd*, the last of the *Persian* Kings, came to the Crown; which was, ²as is confessed on all Hands, the 16th Day of *June*, in the Year of our Lord six hundred and thirty-two. However, since *Abu'lpharagius* has placed these Actions in *Omar's*

² *Golijs's* Notes upon *Alferganus*, p. 30. *Gravii Epochæ Celebriores.*

Life, I have contented myself with giving the Reader this Hint, and followed that Author in this Particular; especially, because I could not find any Place so proper for the interrupting the History of *Syria*, as the Taking of *Damascus*, and the Death of *Abubeker*; both which happening at the same time, (according to *Alwákidi*, who differs in that Particular from other Authors) made a sort of a Period, and gave me a fair Opportunity of inserting whatever was done by the Saracens in any other Country within that Compass of time.

And now the Series of our History requires *Alwákidi*. us to return to the *Damascens*, whom we left just at that time when *Abu Obeidah* had with great Intreaty scarcely prevailed with *Caled* to ratify the Articles which he had made with the Besieged. Having obtained it at last with much ado, he told them, that they were at their Liberty to go where they pleased; but when they were out of the Bounds of that Part of the Country, which was taken by the Muslemans, they were also out of their Protection, and free from any Article or Agreement whatsoever. The Christians not content with this, desired their Protection for the space of three Days, which way soever they went, and that none of the Saracens should pursue them during that time; after which they must be content to take their Fortune.

H

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Alwakidi.

tune. To which Proposal *Caled* consented, but told them withal, that they should carry nothing with them out of the City, but Provision; which provoked *Abu Obeidah* afresh, who answered, that to use them so, would still be a Breach of Promise, he having engaged to give them leave to go out with Bag and Baggage. Then, (said *Caled*) *if they have that, they shall have no Arms.* To which *Herbís* answered, that they must have Arms, it being impossible for them to travel safely without. *Abu Obeidah* said, *Then let every one of them have something; he that has a Lance shall have no Sword, and he that takes a Bow shall have no Lance;* With which they were pretty well contented. *Thomas* and *Herbís* were the Captains of this unhappy Caravan, who had now lost all but what they could carry away; and instead of lofty and stately Palaces, pleasant Gardens and delicious Fare, must be glad to shift about where they can, and expose themselves to all the Difficulties and Hazards of a tedious Journey, without any Regard had to Age, Sex or Degree. The tender and delicate Lady that once scarce knew how to set her Foot upon the Ground, must now be forced to go through inhospitable Deserts and craggy Mountains, deprived not only of her Superfluities, but of all the Conveniences, and even the very Necessaries of Life. *Thomas* pitched a Tent on the Out-side

of

of the City, and ordered his Men to bring the best of the things, the Plate, Jewels, Silk, and the like, into it, in order to pack them up, and carry them away. The Emperor *Heraclius* had then in *Damascus* a Wardrobe, in which there were above three hundred Loads of dyed Silks and Cloath of Gold, which were all pack'd up. The poor miserable Wretches took every one what they could any way carry, of the best things they had, and made all possible Haste to be gone. *Damascus*, once their Joy and Delight, could now no more be thought on without Regret. The Emperor *Heraclius's* Daughter went out among the rest, which followed *Thomas* and *Herb's*. *Derar* (who was vexed at his Heart because *Abu Obeidah* had let them come off so well) stood by as they went out, and gnashed his Teeth for Spite and Indignation. The Princess thought that the Reason of his Anger was because of the Spoil, and said to him as she passed by, *What's the Reason, Derar, that you mutter thus? Don't you know that³ with God there are more and better things than these are?* *Derar* swore, that it was not the Plunder that he valued; but what vexed him was the People's escaping, and not being all murdered; adding, that *Abu Obeidah* had done a great Injury to the Muslemans, in giving them Quarter. *Athi Ebn Ammar* hearing him

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Alwákidi.
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³ Arab. *Ind'allah*.

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Alwākidi.

say so, answered, *That Abu Obeidah had done for the best, in preventing the Effusion of the Blood of the Muslemans, (the most sacred thing under the Sun) and giving them Rest from their Labours. Besides, God has made the Hearts of the true Believers the Seat of Mercy, and those of the Infidels the Seat of Cruelty: And God has said in some of the inspired Books, that he was most merciful; and that he would not shew Mercy, but only to the merciful.* Then he quoted a Passage in the *Alcoran*, to prove to him that ⁴*Agreement* was better. Derar told him, that he talked like an honest Man, but he swore, that for his part he would never have Mercy upon any, that said that God had a Son, and joined a Partner with God. Thomas and Herbís paid Abu Obeidah what they had bargained with him for, as the Redemption of their Lives and Liberties; and then those of them who chose to stay behind, and be Tributaries, staid; the rest, which were by far the greater Number, went away: Whom we must leave upon their March a while, and prepare our Ears for a very remarkable Relation.

Caled, O bloody and insatiable Saracen! saw these poor Wretches carry away the small Remainder of their plentiful Fortunes, with a great deal of Regret: So mortally did he hate the

⁴ *Alcoran*, Chap. IV. 27. *Affulhho Chairon*.

Christians,

Christians, that to see any of them alive, was Death to him. What does he do? Why! he orders his Men to keep themselves and their Horses well; and told them, that after the three Days were expired, (for they had Security for that time) he designed to pursue them; and said, that his Mind gave him, that they should still overtake them, and have all the Plunder: For, says he, they have left nothing valuable behind them, but have taken all the best of their Cloaths, and Plate, and Jewels, and whatever is worth carrying along with them. Having thus prepared for his Journey, there happened another Controversy between him and the Townsmen that staid behind, concerning a great Quantity of Wheat and Barley. The Townsmen which had surrendered to *Abu Obeidah*, said, that it belonged to them; *Caled* said, that it was his, (and indeed so was every thing else of the Christians that he could lay his Hands upon.) *Abu Obeidah*, who was always more courteous to the Christians than could have been expected from a Saracen, took the Citizens Part. The Contention grew so high, that they had like once more to have fallen together by the Ears, till at last they determined to write to *Abubeker* about it, not having yet received the News of his Death. This Disturbance detained *Caled* from pursuing the poor *Damascens*; for there were now four

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Days and as many Nights passed since they went away, and there were but little Hopes of overtaking them; for he was well assured, that as soon as possibly they could they would secure themselves in some walled Town; so that he had quite laid aside the Thoughts of following them, had it not been for a very unfortunate Circumstance, which was thus:

The Reader may be pleased to remember, that *Derar Ben Alazwâr*, during the Siege, had two thousand Men given him to ride round about, and survey the Camp, lest they should be surprized, either by any Succours from the Emperor, or Sallies from the Town. It chanced one Night, as some of these Men were upon Duty, they heard a Horse neigh, which came out of the Gate *Keisân*. They stood still, and let him alone till he came up close to them, and took his Rider Prisoner. Immediately after, there came another Horseman out of the same Gate; who called the Man, that was taken Prisoner, by his Name. The Saracens bad him answer him, that he might come up, and they might take him too. But instead of that, he spoke out aloud in Greek, *The Bird is taken*. The Person he spoke to understood his Meaning very well, and returned back into the City. The Saracens could not tell what he said; only they knew that they had lost another Prisoner by his means: Upon which they had like

to

to have killed him, but upon better Consideration they resolved to carry him to the General Caled, that he might dispose of him as he pleased. Caled asked him, what he was? *I am*, said he, *a Nobleman, and I married a young Lady, which I loved as my Life; and when I sent for her home, her Parents gave a slight Answer, and said, That they had something else to do, Wherefore I took a convenient Opportunity of speaking with her, and we agreed to come out in the Evening, and give a good round Sum of Money to him that was upon the Guard that Night. I coming out first, was surprized by your Men, and to prevent her falling into your Hands, I called out, The Bird is taken, She apprehending my Meaning, went back with the two Servants that were with her; and who can blame me! Well*, said Caled, *and what have you to say to the Mahometan Religion? If you like that, when we take the City, you shall have your Wife: If not, you are a dead Man.* The poor Wretch being surprized, and not having Faith enough to die a Martyr, renounced his Christianity, and made Confession of his Mahometanism in these Words; *I testify, That there is but one God; he has no Partner; and Mahomet is the Apostle of God.* Then he was entirely theirs, and used to fight among them valiantly. When the City was surrendered, he went with all speed to find his Beloved.

Omar.
Alwákidi.

Upon Enquiry, he received Information, that she had shut her self up in a Nunnery ; which was true enough. For she never expected to see him more, after he was once fallen into the Hands of the *Saracens* ; and since all her Joy and Delight in this World was gone, she resolved to spend the rest of her Days in the Contemplation of a better. He goes to the Church where she was, expecting to be received with a-bundance of Joy ; in which he was very much deceived : For when he had asked her the Reason why she turned Nun ; and she had told him ; he no sooner made himself known, and acquainted her with the Change of his Religion, but she treated him with the utmost Contempt and Aversion, worthily thinking that he ought himself to be renounced by her, who had first renounced his Christianity ; nor would the Remembrance of former Love, nor the Consideration of that Extremity which had obliged him to it, move her, nor beget in her one charitable Thought towards him ; but she still continued firm in her Resolution to bid adieu to all the Enjoyments of this present Life, and never converse with him any more. Wherefore, when *Thomas* and *Herbís*, attended with the rest of the miserable *Damascens*, went away, she went along with them. Her Departure wounded her Husband (*Jonas*) to the Heart : He was very instant

Omar.
Alwākidi.

instant with *Caled* to detain her by Force; who answered, *That since they had surrendered themselves, it could not be done; but they must all of them have free Liberty to go where they pleased.* Here then is the main Spring of this Action. As soon as *Jonas* understood that *Caled* had a Design of pursuing the *Damascens*, he was very forward, and teased him to go, and proffered his Service to be their Guide. But, as we have said before, *Caled*, who was willing to pursue them after three Days were expired, being obliged to stay longer upon the account of the Controversy concerning the Corn, thought four Days too much Advantage on their side, and had infallibly laid aside the Thoughts of it, if it had not been for the incessant Importunity of this damn'd Apostate, who was resolved to gratify his own Humour, though it were by betraying into the Hands of merciless and unrelenting Saracens, Thousands of his innocent Countrymen, Women, and Children, who had already laboured under the Calamities and Distresses of a consuming War. However nothing would satisfy him but this Woman; and when *Caled* told him they were too far gone, he never ceased spurring him forwards, telling him, *That he knew all the Country, and how to follow them the nearest way; and whatever else he could think on to encourage the Undertaking.* *Caled*, who was
not

Omar.
Alwákidi.

not backwards of himself to go about any thing that afforded the least prospect of Success, yielded to his Importunity, and so the Journey was concluded upon.

Caled chose out four thousand of the best Horse, which *Jonas* ordered to be cloathed in the Habit of Christian *Arabs*; that, being to travel in the Enemies Country, they might pass unsuspected. Then, committing the Care of the Town and Army to *Abu Obeidab*, they departed. It was no hard Matter to follow such a great Multitude of People as went out of *Damascus*; for besides that the Footsteps of their Mules were visible enough, they scattered things enough in their hasty Flight, to direct those who came after which way to pursue. The Saracens kept riding Night and Day, and never stood still, but only in Prayer-time. For a long time together they could trace them very plainly; but at last there appeared no Footsteps at all, nor any Signs by which they might make any Guess which way they were gone. *What's the News now?* said *Caled* to *Jonas*. Oh, says he, *they are turn'd out of the great Road, for fear of being pursu'd: You are in a manner as sure of them, as if you had already taken them.* So he turns them out of the high Road, and leads them among the Mountains, where it was very bad travelling. The Way was so extreemly rough

rough and uneven, that they could not ride without the greatest Hazard. The Horses struck Fire at every step, they beat off their Shoes, and battered their Hoofs to Pieces, that it was almost impossible for them to travel. They were forced to alight from their Horses, and then they could scarce get forwards on Foot, and those who had strong Boots on, well soaled with Iron, had the Soals torn off from the Upper-Leathers. The Saracens who had been used to a great many Hardships, began to be extremely uneasy, and wished themselves again in the right Road. In short, every Man was heartily tired, but the indefatigable Lover. *Caled* himself could not tell what to think on't; but complained to *Jonas*, and told him, that it was all his doing. At last they perceived a great many Footsteps, which made them imagine that the People were gone before them. The Guide told *Caled*, that he was sure they could not be far before, because the Dung of their Horses was not yet dry. Upon this *Caled* called to his Men, to mend their Pace; but they told him, they were quite tired and worn out, and must of necessity stay and bait a while before they went any further. When they had refreshed their Horses, they kept going on; and wherever they passed, the Country People mistook them for Christian *Arabs*. The Guide brought them

Omar.
Alwákidi.

Omar.
Alwākidi.

them to *Jabalab* and *Laodicea*; but they durst not pass through those Towns, for fear of being discovered. *Jonas* at last enquired of a Country-man; who told them, that the Emperor hearing that the *Damascens* were upon their March towards *Antioch*, was fearful lest by their coming, and giving a terrible Account of the Sharpness of the Siege, and the Courage of the Saracens, those about him should be disheartened; and had therefore sent an Express to forbid their coming any nearer to *Antioch*, and commanded them to go to *Constantinople*. He told him also, that the Emperor was raising Forces to send to ^s *Yermouk*. When *Jonas* had received this Intelligence, he was at a Loss, and could not tell what to do. *Caled* enquired of him what News? and he told him how it was, and that there was no hope of overtaking them; and besides, that there was but one Mountain between them and that Place where the Emperor's Officers were raising Forces to send against them. As soon as *Caled* heard him mention the Forces, he turned as pale as Ashes. *Derar*, who had never observed in him any Signs of Fear before in all his Lifetime, asked him, what was the Matter? *Alas*, says he, 'tis not that I fear Death, or any thing that may befall my self, but because I am afraid

^s Sept. 1. 634.

lest the Emperor's Forces should get to Damascus, and do our People some Mischief in my Absence; especially remembring a Dream which I had not long since, and I cannot tell the Meaning of it.

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Alwākidi.

One of the Men asked him what it was? When he had told him, *Abdo'rrahmân*, Soldier like, interpreted it all in Favour of the Saracens. So they continued their March, and there fell abundance of Rain that Night, which put them to a great deal of Inconvenience, but the poor *Damascens* to much more. In the Morning, after a tedious March, the *Damascens* found a pleasant Meadow, and the Sun shined comfortably upon them. Glad of this Opportunity, they sat down to rest their weary Limbs, and spread out their wet Cloaths to dry them. A great many of them, quite tired and fatigued, lay down to sleep.

In this Posture the Saracens found them. As soon as *Caled* understood the Matter, he divided his four thousand Men into four Regiments. The first was commanded by *Derar Ebn Alazwâr*; the second by *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*; the third by *Abdo'rrahmân*, *Abubeker's* Son. *Caled* himself brought up the fourth, having first charged the Officers, that they should not make their Appearance all at once, but leave a little space one between the other, which was a very proper way to strike Terror into the *Damascens*; and was frequently used by the Saracens, both
in

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in their Field-Fights, and when they came to invest any Town. He bad them not begin till they saw him fall on first, and not touch any of the Plunder till the Fight was over. The fight of the Meadow was so pleasant and diverting, especially after they had been so harrafs'd with that dismal Journey thro' the Rocks and Mountains, that they had like to have forgot what they came about. There they saw the purling Streams, the fine Flowers, and unspeakable Variety of rich Silks of all sorts of Colours, curiously wrought, spread all over the Meadow; all which together afforded them a very entertaining Prospect, extremely delightful and refreshing. After a little Pause, *Caled* began the Attack, more like a Lion or a Tyger than a Man, and bad his Men fall upon the Enemies of God. The Christians quickly knew who they were, but seeing but a few of them at first, despised the Smallness of the Number, and prepared to fight. *Thomas* and *Herbís* encouraged their Men, and put them in as good Order as the time would permit. *Thomas* engaged *Caled* with five thousand Men, and after a sharp Dispute was killed, and his Men routed. As soon as *Abdo'rrahmán* saw *Thomas* fall from his Horse, he alighted, and cut off his Head, and put it upon the Point of the Standard of the Cross, and said, *Alas for you, you Grecian Dogs, here's your Master's Head.*

Whilst

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Whilst they were thus engaged, it is no hard Matter to guess what was become of *Jonas*: He was engag'd too, but after a different manner, being among the Women, in Search of his Lady. *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* came up that way, and saw him and his Lady fighting; and at last he threw her violently against the Ground, and took her Prisoner. Whilst *Raphi* was making up to them, the Women stood upon their Defence, and pelted him with Stones. At last a young Lady happen'd to hit his Horse in the Forehead, and killed him. *Raphi* ran after her with his Sword drawn, and was just about striking her Head off, but she cry'd, *Quarter*; so he took her Prisoner. She was a Person of no less Dignity than the Emperor's Daughter, and *Thomas's* Wife; a Princess of incomparable Features, richly dress'd, and had a great many Jewels about her Head. When *Raphi* had dispos'd of this rich Prisoner, he came to the Place where *Jonas* was, and found him bath'd in Tears, and his Lady weltering in Blood. *Raphi* enquiring what was the Matter? *Jonas* wrung his Hands, and said, *Alas for me, the most miserable Man in the World! I came to this Woman, whom I loved above all things in this Life, and would fain have perswaded her to return with me; but she continuing obstinate because I had chang'd my Religion, and vowing she would go*

to

Omar.
Alwákidi.

to Constantinople, and there end her Days in a Nunnery, I resolv'd if I could not perswade her by fair Means, to make my self Master of her by Force : So I threw her down, and took her Prisoner. When she saw that she was in my Power, she sat quietly a while, and secretly drawing out a Knife, stabb'd her self in the Breast before I was aware, and fell down dead immediately. Raphi hearing this lamentable Story, wept too, and said, God did not design that you should live with her, and therefore has provided better for you. What's that? said Jonas. I'll show you, answered Raphi, a Prisoner have I taken, a Person of admirable Beauty, and richly dress'd, which I will present to you to recompense your Loss. When they came together, Jonas and the Princess talk'd together in Greek, and Raphi freely gave her to him.

In the mean time Caled was employed in the Search of Herbîs. At last he saw a huge tall Man richly dress'd, which he imagined at first to have been the same, and beat him down to the Ground with his Lance, saying, Alas for thee, Herbîs, didst thou think to escape me ? The Man could speak Arabick well, and told him, that he was not Herbîs, but another ; and if he would spare him, he would give him more than he was aware of. No Quarter, says Caled, unless you direct me to Herbîs, that I may kill him ;
and

and if so, I shall let you go your way without any Ransom. Well, says the Man, I'll tell you; but make first a firm Agreement with me, that if I shew you where he is, you will let me go. Yes, says Calid, if he falls into my Hands. This is one of your Tricks, said the Christian, so you gave us Security and Protection, and then afterwards followed us to this Place, when we never expected any one should have pursu'd us; and now you tell me, that if Herbís falls into your Hands, you will let me go. I can tell you where he is, but how can I promise that? At this Caled was angry, and said, Thou Christian Dog! dost thou accuse us of Breach of Promise, who are the Companions of the Apostle of God? When we promise any thing, we are as good as our Word. We did not come out after you, till the fourth Day was expired. The Christian desired him to get off from him, that he might shew him where Herbís was; for Caled, when he had beaten him down, sat upon him all the while. Then he look'd about, and shew'd him a Party of Horse at a Distance, and told him, that Herbís was among them. Caled, upon this, called a Saracen to him; and bad him take Care of the Christian; and if Herbís was among that Company, he should let him go, but if he was caught in a Lye, he should strike his Head off. When Caled came thither, he alighted, and betook himself to his Sword and

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Target ; and whilst he was fighting among the thickest of the Christians, *Herbís* came behind him, and gave him such a Blow, that he cleav'd his Helmet through to his Turbant, and with the Violence of the Stroak, his Sword fell out of his Hand. About this time, *Caled's* Men came in timely to his Assistance, and fell upon the Christians, and cut them all to Pieces. When they had now entirely ruin'd and destroy'd those miserable Creatures, which had escaped at the taking of *Damascus*, *Caled* called for the Man that had shewn him the way to *Herbís*, and told him, that since he had perform'd what he had promis'd to them, they would do the same to him ; only they were obliged to exhort and admonish him first : Wherefore he ask'd him, whether he could find in his Heart to become *one of the Fasting and Praying People, the Followers of Mahomet?* Upon his refusing to change his Religion, they dismiss'd him, and he took the Road towards *Constantinople*, being the only Person that the Saracens knew of, that escaped the being killed or taken Prisoner, of all that numerous Train that followed *Thomas* and *Herbís* out of the Gates of *Damascus*.

Caled, when he came back, ask'd *Jonas* what was become of his Wife? who gave him an Account of that dismal Story, which we have
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Omar.
Alwákidi.

already related. Hearing that the Princess was taken Prisoner, he commanded her to be brought into his Presence; and when he beheld her excellent Beauty, comely Proportion and agreeable Mein, he turned away his Head, and said, *Glory be to thee, O God! we praise thee, who createst what thou plearest.* Then he told *Jonas*, that if the Emperor did not redeem her, he should have her: *Jonas* accepted his Present very thankfully, and withal told him, that they were in a streight narrow Place, and that it was high time to be marching; for they might be sure that what they had done was noised about the Country, and it would not be long before they should be pursued. Before they got back to *Damascus*, they saw a great Dust behind them. Upon which *Caled* dispatches a Scout, to enquire what was the Matter? Who quickly discover'd the Crosses in the Colours, and brought him Word: But, contrary to the Expectation of the Saracens, there was no Hostility intended; only there came an old Man from among the Christians, who being at his Request conducted to the General, begg'd of him, in the Emperor's Name, to dismiss the Princess his Daughter. *Caled* having advis'd with *Jonas* about it, consented to let her go; and said to the Old Man, *Tell your Master that there will never be any Peace between him and me, till I*

have

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have gotten every Foot of Land he has ; and tho' I have sent him his Daughter now, I hope to have him instead of her one of these Days.

It was not long before they came to *Damascus*, where they were so much the more welcome, because their long Absence had made their Friends there despair of their Return. Old *Abu Obeidah* was surpriz'd at *Caled's* Valour. *Caled*, reserving a fifth part of the Spoils to be sent to the Caliph, and put into the publick Treasury, according to their Precept in the ¹ *Alcoran*, distributed the rest among the Soldiers: He gave *Jonas* a good round Sum to buy him a Wife withal: But *Jonas* answered him in a very melancholy Tone, that he would never entertain any such Thoughts again in this World, but his next Wife should be one of those blackey'd Women mention'd in the ² *Alcoran*. He continued among the Saracens, and was serviceable to them; till at last at the Battle of *Yermouk*, he was shot in the Breast. Thus fell the Apostate. However my Author, for the Encouragement of new Profelytes, (for more sorts of People than one will lye for Religion) tells us, that after he was dead, he was seen in a Vision by *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* very richly cloathed, and with gold Shoes upon his Feet,

¹ *Surato'l Anphâl*. Chap. VIII. 15. ² Chap. LII. 19. LVI. 22.

walking in a most beautiful verdant Meadow ; and when *Raphi* asked him what God had done for him ? *Jonas* answered, that he had given him seventy young Women, so bright and beautiful, that if any one of them should appear in this World, the Sun and Moon could not be seen for the Resplendency of her Beauty. When *Caled* heard of this Vision, he said, *This it is to be a Martyr, happy is he that attains to it.*

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Caled, not having yet receiv'd Advice of *Abubeker's* Death, wrote a Letter to him, to acquaint him with the taking of *Damascus*, the Controversy between him and *Abu Obeidah*, and the Recovery of the Spoil which the *Damascens* had carried away. The Messenger being come to *Medinah*, wondered to find *Omar* in *Abubeker's* stead ; and *Omar* finding the Letter directed to *Abubeker*, wonder'd the Saracens in *Syria* should be still ignorant of the Alteration in the Government, and told the Messenger, that he had written to *Abu Obeidah* about it, and given him the chief Command over the Muslemans in *Syria*, and deposed *Caled*, tho' he thought that *Abu Obeidah* was not fond of that Employ. The truth of it is, *Abu Obeidah* had received the Letter, but kept it private : for being a very modest Man, and one that had not the least Spark of Ambition in him, he was very unwilling to take the Commission out of *Caled's*

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Hands: Wherefore he took no Notice of it to him, nor said any thing to hinder his writing to the Caliph, after his Return from the Pursuit of the *Damascens*. Omar liked *Abu Obeidab* for his Piety, but had no Opinion at all of *Caled*. One Day as he was speaking to the People from the Pulpit, (as it was usual for the Caliphs then to talk about what concern'd the Publick, in a very familiar manner) he mention'd the taking away *Caled's* Commission, and conferring that Charge upon *Abu Obeidab*. A young Man that was present, took the Freedom of telling him, that he wonder'd he would deprive such a Person as had been the Instrument of so good Success to the Muslemans; and that when *Abubeker* was moved by some about him to depose him, his Answer was, *That he would not lay aside, nor sheath that Sword, which God had drawn for the Assistance of the true Religion:* And withal told Omar, That if he did it, he must answer it to God. Omar made but very little Answer, but came down from the Pulpit, and consider'd of it that Night. The next Day he came again, and told them, that since the Care and Charge of the Muslemans was committed to him, he thought himself oblig'd to take the best Care of them he could, as one that must give an Account; and for that Reason was resolv'd to dispose of Places of Trust to
such

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Alwākidi.

such as deserv'd them, and not to such as did not; That he would give the Command of the Army to *Abu Obeidah*, whom he knew to be a Man of a tender and gentle Disposition, and one that would be kind to the Muslemans: That he did not approve of *Caled*, because he was prodigal and extravagant; adding, *I would not have your Enemies think that it is ever the better for them, because I have depos'd a fierce Man, and put a mild one in his Place; for God will be with him, and assist and strengthen him.* Then he came down from the Pulpit, and took a Sheet of Parchment, and wrote to *Abu Obeidah* a large Letter, full of good Advice. He told him, that he had given him the chief Command of the Army, and bad him not be too modest; and that he should take care not to expose the Muslemans to Danger, in hopes of getting Plunder. By which last Words he very plainly grated upon *Caled's* following the *Damascens* into the Enemies Country. He charged him not to be deceived with this present World, and by that means to perish, as a great many had done before him, and bad him look upon those who had gone before, and assure himself, that he must follow them. Then he adds, *As for the Wheat and Barley, it belongs to the Muslemans, and so does the Gold and Silver, but there must be a 1 fifth taken out of it. As for the*

¹ *Alcoran*, Chap. VIII. 15.

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Controversy between you and Caled, concerning the City's being surrendered or taken by the Sword; it was surrendered. You must have it your way: You are Commander in chief, and have the Power of determining that Matter. If the Townsmen did surrender, upon Condition that they should have the Wheat and Barley, let them have it. As for Caled's pursuing the Damascens, it was a rash Undertaking; and if God had not been the more merciful, you had not come off so well. Then the taking the Emperor's Daughter, and letting her go unransomed, was prodigally done. You might have had a large Sum of Money for her, which would have done a Kindness among the poor Muslemans. Farewell, &c.

Having seal'd it up, he call'd *Shaddâd Ebn Aus*, and ordered him, that as soon as he came to the Army, he should, after the Letter was read, cause the Muslemans to proclaim him *Caliph in Damascus*, and bad him be his Representative. *Shaddâd Ben Aus* and *Amrou Ben Abi Wakkâs* made what haste thy could to *Damascus*, and came to *Caled's* Tent, and paid their Respects, and told him how the Government was dispos'd of, and that they had a Letter from the *Caliph*, which was to be read in the hearing of the Muslemans. *Caled* did not like that very well, for he knew that *Omar* was not well affected towards him. They all wept when they heard

heard of *Abubeker's* Death. *Caled* swore, *That* Omar.
Alwákidi.
tho' there was nothing upon the Earth dearer to
him than Abubeker; ¹ *nor, that he had a greater*
Aversion to than to Omar. But since *Abubeker*
was dead, and had appointed Omar his Successor,
he was very willing to submit to God and to
Omar. Then the Letter was read, and the same
day ² being the first of *October*, in the Year of
our Lord 634, *Shaddâd* was proclaim'd *Caliph*
at *Damascus* in *Omar's* stead. Upon this *Caled*
resigns his Commission, and *Abu Obeidah* takes
the whole Charge of the Army, and all the Af-
fairs of the Muslemans in *Syria* upon himself.

¹ I am in great doubt, whether I have render'd these
Words (*nor that he had a greater Aversion to than to Omar*)
right, according to the Sense of the Original; but being
now at a great distance from the Manuscript, I am forced
to follow my foul Copy. ² *Hegirah* 13. A. D. 634. I
take the Liberty as to this Date to differ from my Manu-
script, which says, that *Shaddâd* was proclaim'd in *Damaf-*
cus, in the 14th Year of the *Hegirah*, which answers to the
Year of our Lord 635. But all the Circumstances make it
plain that it could not be done so late. For *Abubeker* (ac-
cording to *Elmakîn*) died the 23d of *August*, 634. and, ac-
cording to *Alwákidi*, *Damascus* was taken the same Night
that *Abubeker* died. *Caled's* Letter was sent as soon as he
return'd from pursuing the *Damascens*; and *Omar* wrote
his Answer soon after. Wherefore *Shaddâd* could not be
proclaim'd *Caliph*, on the third of *Shaabân*, in the 14th
Year of the *Hegirah*, but it must be on the thirteenth,
which answers to the first of our *October*, and suits exactly
well with the Circumstances of the History.

Abu

Omar.
Alwákidi.

Abu Obeidah was afraid that *Caled* would have taken Disgust at his Removal; and, (which is generally the Effect of want of Encouragement) have been remiss in his Business; but he made the contrary appear sufficiently, in that great Action perform'd at *Dair Abi'l Kodos*; or, *The Monastery of the Holy Father*.

Dair Abi'l Kodos lies between *Tripoli* and *Harran*. There lived in that Place a Priest eminent for his singular Learning, Piety and Austerity of Life, to such a degree, that all sorts of Persons, Young and Old, Rich and Poor, used to frequent his House, to ask his Blessing, and receive his Instructions: There was no Person of what Rank or Quality soever, but thought themselves happy if they had his Prayers; and when-ever any young Couple amongst the Nobility and Persons of the highest Rank were married, they were carryed to him to receive his Blessing. Every Easter there used to be a great Fair kept at his House, where they sold rich Silks and Sattins, Plate and Jewels, and costly Furniture of all sorts. *Abu Obeidah*, now possessed of *Damascus*, was in doubt whether to go next. One while he had Thoughts of turning to *Jerusalem*; another, to *Antioch*. Whilst he was thus deliberating, a Christian that was under the Saracens Protection, informed him of this great Fair, which was about

about thirty Miles distant from *Damascus*. When he understood that there never used to be any Guards at the Fair, the Hopes of an easy Conquest, and large Spoil, encouraged him to undertake it. He looked round about upon the Muslemans, and asked which of them would undertake to command the Forces he should send upon this Expedition; and at the same time cast his Eye upon *Caled*, but was ashamed to command him, that had been his General so lately. *Caled* understood his Meaning; but his being laid aside stuck a little in his Stomach, so that he would not proffer his Service. At last *Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar* (whose Mother was, after his Father *Jaafar* was killed in the Wars, married to *Abubeker*) offered himself. *Abu Obeidah* accepted him chearfully, and gave him a Standard and five hundred Horse. There was never a Man among them but had been in several Battles. The Christian who had first informed them of this Fair, was their Guide. And whilst they staid to rest themselves in their March, he went before to take a View of the Fair. When he came back, he brought a very discouraging Account; for there had never been such a Fair seen before. He told them, that there was a most prodigious Number of People, Abundance of Clergy, Officers, Courtiers and Soldiers. The occasion of which was, that
the

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Omar.
Alwákidi.

the Prefect of *Tripoli* had married his Daughter to a great Man, and they had brought the young Lady to this reverend Priest, to receive the Communion at his Hands. He added, that taking them altogether, *Greeks, Armenians, Copties, Jews, and Christians*, there could be no fewer than ten thousand People, besides five thousand Horse, which were the Lady's Guard. *Abdo'llah* asked his Friends what they thought of it? They told him, that it was the best way to go back again, and not to be accessory to their own Destruction. To which he answered, *That he was afraid, if he should do so, God would be angry with him, and reckon him amongst the Number of those who are backward in his Service; and so he should be miserable. I am not* (said he) *willing to go back before I fight; and if any one will help me, God reward him: If not, I shall not be angry with him.* The rest of the Saracens hearing that, were ashamed to flinch from him; and told him, he might do as he pleased, they were ready at his Command. Now (says *Abdo'llah* to the Guide) *come along with us, and you shall see what the Companions of the Apostle of God are able to perform. Not I,* answered the Guide, *go your selves; I have nothing to say to you.* *Abdo'llah* perswaded him, with a great many good Words, to bear them Company till they came within sight of the Fair.

Fair. Having conducted them as far as he thought fit, he bad them stay there, and lie close till Morning. In the Morning they consulted which way to attack them to the best Advantage. *Omar Ebn Rebiyah* thought it most adviseable to stay till the People had opened their Wares, and the Fair was begun, and then fall upon them when they were all employed. This Advice of his was approved by all. *Abdo'llah* divided his Men into five Troops, and ordered them to charge in five different Places, and not regard the Spoil, nor taking Prisoners, but put all to the Sword. When they came near the Monastery, the Christians stood as thick as possible. The Reverend Father had begun his Sermon, and they thronged on all sides to hear him with a great deal of Attention. The young Lady was in the House, and her Guard stood round about it, with a great many of the Nobility and Officers richly cloathed. When *Abdo'llah* saw this Number of People, he was not in the least discouraged, but turned himself about to the Saracens, and said, *The Apostle of God has said, That Paradise is under the Shadow of Swords; either we shall succeed, and then we shall have all the Plunder; or else die, and so the next way to Paradise.* The Words were no sooner out of his Mouth, but he

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Alwákidi.

fell

Omar.
Alwákidi.

fell upon them, and made a bloody Slaughter. When the Christians heard the Saracens make such a Noise, and cry out, *Allàh Acbar*, they were amazed and confounded, imagining that the whole Saracen Army had come from *Damascus*, and fallen upon them; which put them at first into a most terrible Consternation. But when they had taken time to consider and look about themselves a little, and saw that there was but an Handful of Men, they took Courage, and hemmed them in round on every side; so that *Abdo'llah* and his Party were ⁹like a little Island in the midst of the Ocean. As soon as *Abdo'llah Ebn Anís* (the Reader is desired to observe the Distinction of Names, for a great many of them are very much alike) perceived that *Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar* was in so much Danger, he immediately turn'd his Horse, and rather flew than rode to *Abu Obeidah*, who asked him, what News? *Ebn Anís* told him, that *Abdo'llah*, and all the Muslemans with him were in apparent Hazard of being lost; and if they were not succoured instantly, would infallibly be cut all to Pieces. And now 'twas high time to look out for *Caled*; (none like him and

⁹ *Arab*. Were like a white Spot in a Black Camel's Skin. A Camel being a Creature very frequent and very serviceable in the Eastern Countries, they often mention and allude to it in their Proverbs.

Derar in a Case of Extremity) so *Abu Obeidab* turned to him, and said, *I beg of thee, for God's sake, not to fail in this Exigency, but go and help thy Brethren the Muslemans.* *Caled* swore, that if *Omar* had given the Command of the Army to a Child, he would have obeyed him; adding, *That he would not contradict him, but respected him as one that came into the Profession of the Mahometan Religion before himself.* All that were present were wonderfully pleased with *Caled's* modest Answer; which does indeed deserve to be particularly taken notice of, especially considering how lately he had been turned out of his Commission. *Abu Obeidab* hastened him, and he immediately put on his Armour. His Coat of Mail was that which he took from *Moseilamah*, the false Prophet. Then he put on his Helmet, and over that a Cap, which he called the *Blessed Cap*; it having received *Mahomet's* Benediction. Upon which he valued it more than all his Armour besides, and used frequently to attribute his Security and Success to it. His Men were instantly ready, and away they flew with all possible speed: And if we consider the Circumstances, they had need make as much Haste as they did; for that small Number of Saracens which had made the first Attack, was quite drowned and overwhelmed in that great Multitude of Christians, and there

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was

Omar.
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was scarce any of them but what had more Wounds than one. In short, they were at their last Gasps, and had nothing left to comfort them but Paradise. Fighting in this desperate Condition, about Sun-set they saw the Dust fly, and Horsemen coming full speed, which did rather abate than add to their Courage; they imagining at first that they might be Christians. At last *Caled* appear'd, fierce as a Lyon, with his Colours flying in his Hand, and made up to *Abdo'llah*, who with much ado had born up his Standard all this while, and was now quite spent. But as soon as they heard *Caled's* Voice, and saw the Mahometan Banner, the sinking, drooping Saracens, who were scarce able to hold their Swords, as if they had had new Blood and Spirits infused into them, took fresh Courage, and all together rent the Skies with *Allàh Acbar*. Then *Abdo'llah* charged the Guard, which was round the Monastery, on the one side; and *Derar Ebno'l Azwâr* on the other. The Prefect of *Tripoli* himself was engaged with *Derar*, and was too hard for him, got him down, and lay upon him; at which time *Derar* secretly drew a Knife, which he used to carry about him against such Occasions, and stabbed him. Then he mounted the Prefect's Horse, and cried out, *Allàh Acbar*. Whilst *Derar* was engaged with the Prefect, *Abdo'llah*

Ebn

Ebn Jaafar had taken Possession of the House, but meddled with nothing in it, till *Caled* came back, who was gone in pursuit of those Christians he had beaten, and followed them to a River which was between them and *Tripoli*. The Greeks, as soon as they came to the River, took the Water. *Caled* pursued them no farther ; but when he came back, found the Saracens in the Monastery. They seized all the Spoil, Silks, Cloaths, Household-Stuff, Fruits and Provision, that were in the Fair ; and all the Hangings, Money and Plate in the House ; and took the young Lady, the Governour's Daughter, and forty Maids that waited upon her. So they loaded all their Jewels, Wealth and Furniture, upon Horses, Mules and Asses, and returned to *Damascus*, having left nothing behind them in the House but the old Religious.

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While the Saracens were driving away the Spoil, *Caled* called out to the old Priest in the House, who would not vouchsafe him an Answer. When he called a second time ; *What would you have ?* (said the Priest) *Get you gone about your Business ; and assure your self, that God's Vengeance will light upon your Head, for spilling the Blood of so many Christians. How can that be* (said *Caled*) *when God has commanded us to fight with you, and kill you ? And*

* *Alcoran*, Chap. VIII. 40.

Omar. if the Apostle of God (of Blessed Memory) had
Alwākidi. not commanded us to let such Men as you are alone,
you should not have escaped any more than the rest,
but I would have put you to a most cruel Death.
 The poor Religious held his Peace at this, and answered him never a Word.

Abu Obeidah was all the while waiting with great Impatience, to hear what News. When they returned, he received them with all imaginable Expressions of Kindness and Affection, taking most particular Notice of *Caled* and *Abdo'llah*. Having taken out a ¹ *Fifth*, he distributed the rest of the Spoil among the Soldiers. He gave to *Derar Ebno'l Azwâr* the Prefect of *Tripoli's* Horse and Saddle, who made a Present of them to his Sister *Caulah*. She, as soon as she had them, picked out all the precious Stones and Jewels, of which there was a great Number in the Trappings and Saddle, and divided them among the Women of her Acquaintance. Then they presented the Prisoners to *Abu Obeidah*, among which was the Prefect's Daughter. *Abdo'llah* asked that he might have her; but *Abu Obeidah* desired him to stay till he could write to the *Caliph* about it, and have his Leave. *Omar* ordered him to let him have her, and he kept her till *Yezid's* Reign, (which began in the Year 679.) who begged her of him,

¹ *Alcoran*, Chap. VIII. 42.

and had her. There were a great many rich Cloaths curiously wrought, upon one of which was our Blessed Saviour, which was carried with the rest into *Arabia Felix*, and sold for ten times its Weight in Gold. ¹ Whether the Esteem they had for the Person it represented, or the Fineness of the Work, raised it to such a Price, my Author does not determine; but I believe it was both. Then *Abu Obeidah* sent a Letter to the Caliph, in which he gave him a particular Account of this last Victory, and praised *Caled* extremely; telling him how modestly and obediently he behaved himself, and how well he performed; and desired that he would be so kind as to write to him, and encourage him, and keep up his Spirits: But I never yet have met with any Answer to that Particular; for the old Gentleman always turned a deaf Ear to every thing that was said in Praise of *Caled*; whatever the Reason was, 'tis most certain he did not like him. Among other Particulars which *Abu Obeidah* wrote of to the Caliph, he desired that he might either go and besiege *Antioch*, (then the Seat of the Grecian

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Alwákidi.

¹ Indeed there is no absolute Necessity of understanding that Price to be given only for that Piece, which had our Saviour wrought upon it; for the Author says, The embroider'd Cloath was sold so, but whether he means only that Piece, or all the rest that was embroider'd, is uncertain.

Omar.
Alwákidi.

Emperor, who upon the taking of *Damascus* had ² removed from *Hems* thither) or else *Jerusalem*, which he pleased. He acquainted him also, that the Muslemans had learned to drink Wine in *Syria*. The Messenger went with the Letter to *Medinah*, and found *Omar* with his Friends in the *Mosque*. When *Omar* had read the Letter, and came to that last Particular, he shewed it to *Ali*, (afterwards Caliph) and asked him, what he thought on't? *Ali* gravely answered, that whoever drank Wine, should have fourscore Stripes upon the Soles of their Feet. *Omar* sent word to *Abu Obeidah* to deal with them accordingly, and swore, *That nothing would suit with those Fellows, but Poverty and Hardship; whereas it would better become them to direct their Intentions aright, and observe the Commands of their most mighty Lord, and serve him, and believe in him, and give him Thanks.* *Abu Obeidah* having received the Letter, punished the Offenders according to Order; and desired his Men, that if any of them were conscious to themselves of having been guilty of this Fault, they would, as a Testimony of the Sincerity of their Repentance, offer themselves to undergo this Pennance of their own Accord. Upon which a great many came in, and sub-

* Though some say his Residence was at *Antioch* before the Saracens came into *Syria*.

mitted to the Punishment voluntarily, having no Accuser but their own Conscience. Then he told them, that his Design was to march to *Antioch*, against the Grecian Dog, (for that was the best Compliment they could afford the Emperor.) The Saracens, according to their wonted Custom, encouraged him to fight against the Enemies of God, and told him, they were ready at his Service. He told them, that he would go to *Aleppo* first, and then to *Antioch*. When they were ready to march, he called *Caled*, and ordered him to go in the Front, and take the Flag which *Abubeker* had given him at first, viz. the Black Eagle. With him went *Derar*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*, and several others of Note, with a considerable Number of Men. *Abu Obeidah* having placed in *Damascus* a Garrison of five hundred Horse, under the Command of *Sefwân Ebn Amîr*, marched after them. When he overtook them, he ordered *Caled* to ravage the Country all about *Hems* and *Kennisrîn*, while he himself should go to *Baalbec*, (formerly called *Heliopolis*.) As he was upon his March towards *Baalbec*, when he came near *Jusbiyah*, the Governour of *Jusbiyah* came to meet him with a Present, and made a Truce with him for one whole Year; telling him, that if they conquered *Baalbec*, *Hems*, and *Labwah*, he should not stand in Opposition to

him.

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him. *Abu Obeidah* consented, upon Condition, that he should pay him down four thousand Pieces of Gold, and fifty Silk Vests. This done, he goes forward in his March: As he was going, there came one upon a Camel, riding towards him full speed. When he drew near, *Abu Obeidah* knew him to be *Asámah Ebn Zeid*; who making his Camel kneel, alighted; and, having paid his Respects, delivered him the following Letter.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

From the Servant of God, Omar Ebn Alchitâb, to his Lieutenant, Greeting. I praise the only God, besides whom there is no other; and I pray for his Prophet Mahomet, upon whom be the Blessing of God. There is no turning back the Decree and Determination of God; and he that is written an INFIDEL in the ³ secret Book, shall have no Faith. My speaking thus is occasioned by Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham, of the Tribe of Gassân, who came to us with his Relations, and the chief Men of his Tribe, whom I received and entertained kindly. They made Profession of the True Religion before me; and I was glad that

³ The Mahometans believe that there is kept in Heaven a Register of all Persons and Things, which they call *Al-lâub ho'hnebphoud*, the Table which is kept secret. In this Book all the Decrees of God, and whatsoever shall come to pass, are supposed to be written.

God

God had strengthened the True Religion, and the Professors of it, by their Coming in, not knowing what was in ⁴ Secret. We went together on Pilgrimage to Meccah, and Jabalah went round the Temple ⁵ seven times: As he was going round, it chanced that a Man of the Tribe of Fezârah trod upon his Vest, so that it fell from his Shoulders. Jabalah turned himself about, and said, Woe be to thee! Thou hast uncovered my Back in the sacred Temple of God. The Man swore that he did not design it: But Jabalah boxed him, broke his Nose, and beat out four of his Fore-Teeth. The poor Man hastened to me, and made his Complaint, desiring my Assistance. I commanded Jabalah to be brought before me, and asked him what moved him to beat his Brother Musleman after this Fashion, and knock his Teeth out, and break his Nose. He told me, that the Man had trod upon his Vest, and uncovered his Back; adding, that if it had not been for the Reverence he bore to the holy temple, he would have killed him. I told him he had made a fair Confession against himself; and if the injured Person would not forgive him, I must proceed with

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⁴ Arab. *Algaib*, which signifies whatsoever is secret and unknown to us, as things spiritual, invisible and future. It is frequently in Arab. Authors opposed to what falls within the Compass of our Senses and Understanding. ⁵ This is a Religious Ceremony used by all that go on Pilgrimage to Meccah.

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him by way of ³Retaliation. He answered, that he was a King, and the other a Peasant. I told him, no Matter for that, they were both Muslemans, and in that Respect equal. Upon which he desired that his Punishment might be deferred till the next Day. I asked the injured Person, whether he was willing to stay so long? To which he gave his Consent. In the Night, Jabalah and his Friends made their escape, and he is gone to the

³ Retaliation, or *Lex Talionis*, whereby the offending Person is obliged to suffer the same Hurt which he doth to another, was commanded the Jews, *Exod. XXI. 24.* Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, Hand for Hand, Foot for Foot: And is expressly enjoined by *Mahomet*, *Alcoran II. 173.* who inserted a great many things which he had from the Jews. The modern Rabbins interpret this Command of the *Mosaical Law*, as if it were only a pecuniary Mulct. *Don Isaac Abarbanel* has a great many Arguments to prove that it ought not to be understood in a literal Sense. To instance in one or two: He asks, Whether if the offending Person should have but one Eye or one Hand, he ought to be deprived of either, because he had struck out an Eye or cut off another Man's Hand that had two? Again, How would it be possible for a Judge to inflict a Punishment, which should be exactly the same with the Injury, since that Stroke might prove mortal to one Man, which was not so to another; and so a Man might pay for a Wound which was not mortal, with the Loss of his Life? Thus far *Abarbanel*. But the Practice of the Mahometans is contrary. Only the injured Person may if he pleases accept of any other Satisfaction; but if he comes to a Judge, and demands *Retaliation*, he is obliged to let him have it.

Grecian

Grecian Dog ; but I hope in God that he will give thee the Victory over him. Sit down before Hems, and keep close to it ; and send thy Spies towards Antioch, for fear of the Christian Arabs. Health and Happiness, and the Blessing of God, be upon thee, and all the Muslemans.

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Alwākidi.

What might not be expected from a Government, in which there flourished such impartial Administration of Justice? *Abu Obeidab* having read over the Letter, first to himself, and then to the Muslemans, went on towards *Hems*, (whether *Caled* was gone before with a third Part of the Army) and sat down before it in *November*, in the ¹ Year of our Lord 635. The Governour of the Town chanced to die that same Day that *Caled* came before it. The Inhabitants expected that the Saracens would have taken *Baalbec* in their Way, before they should have had their Company at *Hems* ; and therefore were not so well provided to endure a Siege. Upon which Consideration, in hopes of gaining Opportunity to augment their Stores, they conclude to make Application to *Abu Obeidab*, to make a Truce with them, telling him, that if the Saracens conquered *Haleb* (*Aleppo*) *Albâdir*, and *Kinnafrîn*, and beat the Emperor's Forces, they should willingly submit. *Abu Obeidab* consented to make a Truce with them

¹ *Hegirah* 14. A.D. 635.

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for the space of one whole Year, and no longer, which was to commence on the first Day of *Dulbagjab* of the present Year, and expire on the last Day of the Month *Sjewál*, in the following Year, being the fifteenth of the *Hegirah*; upon Condition that they should pay him down ten thousand Pieces of Gold, and two hundred Silk Vests. The Cessation of Arms was no sooner concluded upon, than the *Hemessens* opened their Gates, and came out and kept a Market in the Saracen Camp. The Arabians, now enriched with the Spoils of the Country, gave them what they asked, and never stood for a Price; so that the Citizens turned the Penny well. In the mean time the Arabian Horse foraged all about the Country, both far and near. Among the rest *Mésab Ebn Mohárib* brought in abundance of Spoil, Sheep and Oxen, with a great many Horses and Camels loaden with Furniture, and four hundred Captives, making most pitious Lamentation for the Calamity which had fallen upon them: *Abu Obeidab*, moved with Compassion, asked them, why they did not come into the Profession of the *Mahometan* Religion? and by that means secure their Lives and Fortunes, Wives and Children. They told him, that they were altogether surprized, not expecting any Hostilities from the Saracens, at that Distance they lived. *Abu Obeidab*,

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dab, having asked Advice of the Muslemans, and they referring it wholly to himself, set four Pieces of Gold upon every Head, as Omar had ordered him to do in such Cases, and laying Tribute upon them, and obliging them, every one in his respective Capacity, to assist the Muslemans as Opportunity should serve, gave them all their Cattle, Furniture, Wives and Children back again, having first entered their Names, and the Places of their Habitation, in a Book kept for that purpose. The poor People were overjoyed to find themselves in such a happy Condition, after having been plunged into the Depth of Despair, and acquainted their Neighbours with what an unexpected Favour they had received at the Hands of the Saracens. This Conduct did greatly facilitate the Conquest of the Arabians; for whereas an unrelenting Cruelty would have made every one desperate, and have fought it out to the last drop of Blood; when they saw that there was a Possibility of enjoying their Religion, and a Competency, by submitting themselves to those who would otherwise have taken all that they had by Force, and either have murdered them every one, or at best made them Slaves; a great many chose rather to embrace the former Condition while it might be had, than run the Hazard of falling into the latter. By this means
the

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the Saracens were strengthened, for they made use of these People on all Occasions. They served them for Interpreters, for Guides when they marched, and several other Purposes; and from them they received Advice of all the Motions of the Christians, and Intelligence of whatever was debated or taken in hand to their Disadvantage. Quickly after, the News of *Abu Obeidab's* gentle Behaviour flew about the Country, a great many of the Greeks came in upon the same Terms, whom he booked and dismissed peaceably. The Inhabitants of *Albâdir* and *Kinnisrîn* hearing this, entertained some Thoughts of following their Example; but privately, and without the notice of ¹ *Luke* their Governour, who was a warlike Man, and resolved to make a vigorous Resistance. This *Luke* had an Antipathy against the Governour of *Aleppo*; insomuch that when *Heraclius* sent for them both to consult which way was best to manage the War, and both of them had assured him, they would do their best; they would not nevertheless join their Forces together, but looked each Man to the Defence of his own Province. As soon as *Luke* understood that his People were disposed to submit them-

¹ Some *Arab*. Authors call him *Matthias*; but they are, as I have observed before, very negligent in the Names of the Christians.

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Alwákidi.

selves to the Saracens, he was very much displeased ; but dissembling his Anger, in hopes of preventing their Design by Stratagem, he calls a Council, and asked their Advice. They told him, that they understood that the *Arabs* were a People that received into their Protection such as came to them, and used to stand to their Word : That since they had come into *Syria*, their constant Practice had been, to kill and make Slaves of all that opposed them ; at the same time protecting those in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Possessions who submitted to them. For which reason they thought it most adviseable to follow the Example of their Neighbours. He answered, that they were in the right, and therefore he designed to make a Truce with them, till the Emperor's Succours should come up, and then oppress them when they least suspected it. Upon this he dispatches *Astachar*, a Priest, a very learned Man, Master of the Arabick Tongue, and thoroughly versed in the Jewish and Christian Theology, with a Letter to the Saracen General ; in which he magnified the Greatness of the Emperor, and the Strength of the Place ; adding, that all Attempts upon it would be in vain, not only upon the Account of its being well fortified and furnished with Plenty of Military Stores, but because the Emperor was now raising a vast Army

in

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in *Europe*, which were shortly to be transported over the *Bosphorus*, and mustered at *Tyre*, for the Relief of *Syria*: That notwithstanding all these Advantages, they were nevertheless desirous to live at quiet, and were willing to have a Year's Truce, and the General should set a Mark at their Bounds; that when any of the Saracen Horse that foraged, came that way and saw the Sign, they should go no further to do any Mischief in their Country. That this Agreement of Truce was a Secret, and must not be known to *Heraclius* the Emperor, for fear of his Displeasure. With these Instructions *Astachar* goes to *Hems*, where he found the Mahometans at Prayers. Prayers done, *Abu Obeidab* admits him, and when he offered to bow down to the Ground, would not suffer him. When *Caled* had heard the Contents of the Letter, he did not like it, but shook his Head, and said, *That this did not look like the Stile of a Man that desired Peace in earnest*; and would fain have perswaded *Abu Obeidab* not to hearken to him. But (said he) *let us go the Place, and by ² Mahomet I'll make that City a Prey to the Muslemans, if it please God, and a Terror to the rest.* Softly! (said *Abu Obeidab*) *No Man knows*

² Arab. *Wahákki dini Resoul Allah*. By the Veracity or Truth of the Religion of the Apostle of God. Sometimes *Wahákki Resoul Allah*. As it may be in this Place.

the Hearts of Men, but God only. Well then, answered Caled, make no Agreement with them, unless it be for good-and-all; and if they will accept of this, well and good; if not, let them alone. I hope, by the Help of God, I shall be a Match for them. Astachar was surprized at Caled's Roughness, and said, That the Character which he had heard of the Arabs was not true; for the Christians had been informed that they were very gentle and courteous to all such Persons as came to seek their Protection: But now (adds he) I find the contrary, for I come to propose Terms of Peace, and you are not willing to accept them. To which Caled answered, that they were not willing to be imposed upon, but had great reason to suspect the Sincerity of these Overtures; and if there should come any Assistance from the Emperor, and they saw any Advantage on their own side, they would be the first that would take up Arms against the Saracens, notwithstanding their present pretended Desire of Peace. However a Cessation of Arms should be granted for a Twelve-month, upon Condition, that if any Forces were sent by the Grecian Emperor, the Inhabitants of the City should keep themselves within their own Walls, and not stir out to their Assistance. This done, Astachar asked for a Copy of the Agreement, which Abu Obeidab
having

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having given him, he desired that there might be some Sign set up at the Limits of their Territories, that when the Soldiers saw it they might not forage in the Country. *Abu Obeidab* said, he would take Care to have it done: But *Astachar* told him, he need not trouble any of his own Men, for they intended, with his Leave, to do it themselves. Accordingly the Greeks erected a ³ Pillar, upon the Top of which they carved the Grecian Emperor sitting upon his Throne. All Things being thus made easy for a while, between the Saracens and the Governour of *Kinnisrín*, there happened an unlucky Accident, which had like to have occasioned a Misunderstanding between them. Some of the Saracen Horse passing that way, and observing the curious Workmanship of the Pillar, admired it. They spent some Time in viewing it, riding past it backward and forward, and exercising themselves round about it. At last, as one of them past by it in a full Career, with his Javelin in his Hand; the Iron which was fastened in the lower End of the Javelin, accidentally struck out one of the Eyes of the carved Emperor. This taking Air was misconstrued by the Greeks as a most vile Indignity offered to the Emperor in Effigie, and a manifest Breach of the Truce. Upon this

³ This same Story is in *Eutychius* his Annals.

Messengers

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Messengers are dispatched to *Abu Obeidab*, who expostulate with him upon the Injury with a great deal of Clamour, and insist upon Satisfaction. He declares, that his Intent was to keep his Word inviolably, and that he was well assured, that whoever did it, had no design to shew any Disrespect to the Emperor; and, that the Sincerity of his Intentions might appear, profered any reasonable Satisfaction. Nothing would satisfy them but Retaliation, and the Affront offered to the Emperor must be returned upon the Caliph. In which Demand, when he that spoke, expressed himself unwarily, and talked of putting out one of *Omar's* Eyes, the rude Saracens thinking he meant literally as he spoke, were so inflamed, that had not *Abu Obeidab* restrained them, by telling them, that these People wanted Sense, and must be borne with, they had rushed upon them instantly, and killed them upon the spot. *Abu Obeidab* told them, that they might set up his Statue if they would, and do what they pleased with it: But nothing would serve but the Statue of the *Caliph*. To which at last, wearied with Importunity, he consented. They having made a Statue to represent *Omar*, and put two Glass Eyes in the Head of it, ordered one of their Men to strike out one of them with a Lance. And thus, having received sufficient Reparation for the Injury received, they were pacified.

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Abu Obeidah continued at *Hems*, sending out his Horse to forage, and expecting with great Impatience the Expiration of the Truce, which had tied up his Hands from offering any Hostility within the Territories of *Hems*, *Albâdir* and *Kinnisrîn*. *Omar* in the mean time wondered at *Abu Obeidah*'s Silence, and not having heard of any considerable Action a long time, grew very angry: At last he wrote a short snapping sort of a Letter to *Abu Obeidah*, as follows:

In the Name of the most merciful God,

From Omar Ebno'l Chitâb, to Abu Obeidah Ebno'l Jerahh, his Lieutenant in Syria, Greeting. I praise God, besides whom there is no other; and I pray for his Prophet Mahomet, upon whom be the Blessing of God. I command thee to put thy Trust in God; and I bid thee take heed that thou be not one of those, concerning whom God^s says;
 9 " SAY, If your Parents, or Children, or
 " Friends, or Wives, or Families, or the Riches
 " you have gained, or the Merchandise which
 " you are afraid you should not sell, or the
 " Houses which you delight in be dearer to

* So they quote the Alcoran, but when they mention any of *Mahomet*'s Sayings, they set down his Name. 9 This is the twenty fourth Verse of the Ninth Chapter of the *Alcoran*. In which, (as also in a Multitude of other Places) *Mahomet* introduces God speaking to him thus, SAY, [to the People] *If your Parents, &c.*

" you

“ you than God and his Apostle, and the fight-
 “ ing for his Service; stay till God shall accom-
 “ plish what he has decreed. God does not di-
 “ rect those that do wickedly.

Omar.
 Alwākidi.

The Muslemans had no sooner heard the Letter, than they perfectly understood that *Omar* designed by it to rebuke them for their Negligence. *Abu Obeidab* repented himself heartily that he had granted a Truce to the Inhabitants of *Albâdir* and *Kinnisrîn*, and all the Muslemans wept for Sorrow, because they had been so remiss in their Duty; and asked *Abu Obeidab*, why he sat still, and did not lead them forth to fight the ⁶ *Battles of the Lord*? desiring of him at the same time to leave *Kinnisrîn*, and march either to *Aleppo* or *Antioch*; before either of which were taken, the Truce would be expired. Upon this he had Thoughts of going to *Aleppo*; and having left *Salmah* with a Party of Horse at *Hems*, the first Place he came at was *Arrestân*; from thence he marched to *Hamah*, (afterwards the Seat of the famous *Abu'lpheda*) and from thence to *Shaiẓar*; with all which Places he made Truce upon Conditions. At *Shaiẓar*, he received Information, that the Governour of *Kinnisrîn* (contrary to the Articles of Truce) had wrote to the Emperor for fresh

⁶ Arab. *Jehâd. Bellum Sacrum.*

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Alwákidi.

Supplies ; who had sent *Jabalab Ebno'l Ayham* to his Assistance. Upon which, *Abu Obeidah* defers his intended March to *Aleppo*, designing to fall upon *Kinnisrîn*, as soon as the Truce should be expired, which did not now want quite a Month. The Governour of *Kinnisrîn* going out to meet *Jabalab*, and the Prefect of *Ammouriyah* coming to his Assistance, was unfortunately intercepted by *Caled*; who, having ventured upon that Undertaking with an inconsiderable Number of Men, escaped the greatest Danger, being on every side surrounded with the Christians: After he had killed the Prefect of *Kinnisrîn*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* said to him, ⁷ *Our Time is come*. To which he answered, *That he believed so, because he had forgot his Cap, which used to do him such singular Service ; and which he should not have left behind him, if it had not been so decreed : But speedy Relief coming from Abu Obeidah, they were delivered beyond all Expectation.*

Abu Obeidah fully resolving now to besiege *Kinnisrîn*, sent a Party of Horse before, who foraged and wasted all the Country round about. The Prisoners which they took were sent to the Caliph, and he took Care to put the Boys to the Writing School, according to the Command of their Prophet *Mahomet* ; who, though

⁷ Arab. *Jâa Ajâlona*.

he could neither write nor read himself, was very well sensible of the use of it. The Inhabitants of *Kinnisrîn* having lost their Governour, and being altogether out of Hopes of escaping, sued for Protection, and submitted to pay Tribute, being first polled, according to Omar's Order, at the Rate of four Ducats an Head. *Kinnisrîn* being taken, *Abu Obeidah* called his Muslemans together, and said, *Tell me (God bless you) your Advice; for God has said in the mighty Book, (meaning the Alcoran) to his Prophet Mahomet, ASK THEIR ADVICE IN A MATTER, AND TRUST UPON GOD; and the Apostle of God has said, HE THAT TAKES ADVICE IS SECURE; shall we go to Aleppo, or Antioch?* They told him, that the time of the Truce which he had made with the neighbouring Places was almost expired, and therefore they were of Opinion, that it would be most adviseable to take them in their way, before they moved any further into the Country; especially they chose to go to *Baalbec*, where they had Reason to expect a vigorous Opposition. *Abu Obeidah* hereupon, leaving *Caled* to besiege *Hems*, marched himself to *Baalbec*; where, when the Saracens came, they found themselves not at all disappointed in their Expectation; for the Place was very well fortified, and stored with warlike

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Provision. The Saracens intercepted a Caravan, with four hundred Loads of Silks and Sugars, upon their Journey to *Baalbec*. *Abu Obeidah* put none of them to Death, (as not bearing Arms) but gave them Leave to ransom themselves. Some of them going to *Baalbec*, acquainted the Inhabitants with the Loss of the Caravan; who, under the Conduct of *Herbis* their Governour, went out in Hopes of recovering it, to the Number of six thousand Horse, attended with a Rabble of the undisciplined Multitude; who, imagining that the main Body of the Saracen Army had still continued at *Hems*, and that the Caravan had been spoiled only by a Party of Foragers; encountring with *Abu Obeidah* under so great a Disadvantage, were overthrown and routed, *Herbis*, their General, receiving no less than seven Wounds, and with great Difficulty and Hazard retiring to the City. When *Abu Obeidah* came before it, the Saracens resolved to besiege it streightly. *Meadd Ebn Jabal* told *Abu Obeidah*, that he knew the People of the Town were ready to tread one upon another, and he thought it could scarce contain them all; adding, *If we hold out against it, we hope that God will deliver it into the Hands of the Muslemans; for God will not cease to give the Earth for an Inheritance to his Servants the Saints, because*¹ *he has said, WE have written in the Psalms,*

¹ *Alcoran*, Chap. XXI. 105.

that

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Alwákidi.

that my Servants the Saints shall inherit the Earth. The next Day *Abu Obeidah* wrote a Letter to the Besieged, in which he put them in Mind of the Victories which God had already granted to the Faithful, over those which opposed them, and offered to receive them, paying Tribute as others had done before them. This Letter he gave to a Country-man that was under their Protection, and a Reward of twenty Pieces of Silver, saying, *That he was none of those that would make use of any Man's Service, and not pay him for it.* The Messenger coming to the Wall, they let down a Rope, which he having tied about his middle, they drew him up. The Letter being read, (for *Abu Obeidah*, when he wrote to the *Greeks*, made use of a *Greek* Secretary) the Besieged were divided in their Opinions, and a great many of them inclined to surrender; which *Herbis* the Governour was so averse to, that he tore the Letter in Pieces, and threw it to the Messenger, commanding him to be forthwith sent back again, which was all the Answer he vouchsafed to give to it.

The Saracens, upon this, besieging the City, were bravely repulsed by the Besieged, who did them a great deal of Damage with their Engines planted upon the Walls. The Valour of the Citizens, together with the extreme Coldness of

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the Weather, made the Saracens glad to lay by their Assault. The next Morning, after Prayers were over, a Cryer went round the Camp, commanding in the General's Name, that never a Man of them should stir, or do any thing else, before he got himself ready some hot Victuals. The Order was no sooner heard than obeyed, and every Man went to work for himself. Whilst they were in the midst of their Cookery, the Besieged sallied. The Saracens were immediately alarmed. Among the rest, *Abmed Ebn Ased* was just a going to put his Hand to his Mouth, when *Abu Obeidah* struck him a good Blow with a Truncheon, and gave him an hearty Curse into the Bargain. The poor Man started up on a sudden, and like one scared out of his Wits, snatched up a Tent-pole, and ran and charged the Enemy, scarce knowing where he was, till he was got in the midst of them. The Saracens surprized in this Disorder, did with much ado beat back the Besieged, who nevertheless carried off with them some Prisoners and Plunder. In the Evening the Chief of the Saracens met at *Abu Obeidah's* Tent, and said, *You see the Courage of these People, what do you think to do in this Case?* To which he answer'd, *That the Damage sustain'd by the Saracens was decreed by God, who was pleased to honour those Persons that were killed with the Degree of Mar-*
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tyrdom. Then he commanded them to remove their Tents to a greater Distance from the City, that they might have a larger Space for their Horses to course in. He gave to *Saïd Ebn Zeid* the Command of five hundred Horse, and three hundred Foot, with Orders to go into the Valley, and keep the *Greeks* in Play at that Gate, which was opposite to the Mountains, that their Forces might be divided, and they obliged to fight in Parcels. *Derar* was placed at that Gate which looks towards *Damascus*, with three hundred Horse and two hundred Foot. The next Morning about Break of Day, *Herbis* the Governour, with a strong Body of Men, sallied out at the Gate where *Abu Obeidah* himself was posted; encouraging his Men, and telling them, that the Saracens were afraid of them, and bidding them remember, that they fought for their Religion, Wives, Children, and Fortunes; in a Word, whatsoever was dear to them. They answered him chearfully, That though they were afraid of the *Arabs* at first, yet they were not so now, being a little better acquainted with their manner of fighting: Besides, the *Arabs* were half naked; some of them fighting without Armour, others with scarce Cloaths enough to cover them; whereas (said they) we have good Helmets, Breast-plates, and Coats of Mail. *Abu Obeidah* on the other side was not wanting

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to tell the Saracens that they must have Patience ; for God had promised good Success to those that held out to the last. The Greeks encouraged with Yesterday's Victory, charged the Saracens home, and the Battle was maintained with great Obstinacy on both Sides, yet so as the Greeks had apparently the Advantage. At that time *Sobail Ebn Sabah* received a Wound in his Right Arm, which disabled him so, that he could not hold up his Sword : Upon which he alighted from his Horse, and having told his Friends that he was no longer able to defend himself, retired out of the Battle to a neighbouring Hill ; which having clambered up, not without some Pain and Difficulty, he had a clear Prospect of both the Armies. The Greeks, as we said, having sallied out upon *Abu Obeidah's* Quarters, there was nothing to do at those Gates where *Derar* and *Säid Ebn Zeid* were posted. *Sobail* observing this, and that *Abu Obeidah* was forced to give Ground, without any Order from the General, or any Person's knowing it, kindled a Fire, and with some green Sticks, made a great Smoak upon the Top of the Hill. As soon as *Säid* and *Derar* perceived it, they imagined it to have been a Signal from the General for them to come up, that being the most usual Signal among the Saracens by Day, as Fire was by Night, when they

they had a Mind to call those together, who were posted at any Distance. Upon this *Derar* and *Saïd* rode with their Men full speed, and came seasonably to the Relief of their Brethren: For the *Greeks* by this Time thought themselves secure of the Victory; but finding themselves surrounded, the Case was quite altered with them; and they who so few Minutes ago expected to have won the Field, now despaired of getting back to their own City: However, they joining close together, and fighting bravely, made an impenetrable Phalanx; which, maugre all Opposition, gained the Top of an Hill, on which there stood an old deserted Monastery, whither *Herbis* and his Men retired, and stood upon their own Defence. *Abu Obeidah*, who as yet knew nothing of *Saïd* and *Derar*'s being come from the Places where he had posted them, perceiving with what undaunted Courage these Men fought, imagined their Retreat feigned, only with a Design to draw the Saracens out of Order, and therefore would not let his Men pursue them. But *Saïd Ebn Zeid* hearing nothing of the General's Order, followed them to the Top of the Hill. There leaving one in his Room with Orders not to suffer a Man to stir out of the House, he with twenty of his Men went to acquaint *Abu Obeidah* with the News. Who seeing him come with so few,

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was surprized, and asked him what was become of the rest. *Saïd* told him, they were all safe and sound, and had besieged the Enemies of God (a Compliment they are very liberal of to the Christians) in an old House, acquainting him with all the Circumstances of the Story. Then *Abu Obeidah* enquired of him and *Derar* what made them stir from their Posts? *Saïd* swore, that he did nothing contrary to order, for he never stirred till he saw the Smoak. *Abu Obeidah* confessed that it was well they came, for he was afraid the Greeks would have seized their Camp, and wished for them, or for some Body to make a Smoak. *Saïd* again positively affirming that there was a Smoak, *Abu Obeidah* was astonished, and made Proclamation throughout the Camp, *Whoever be he that kindled the Fire, and Smoak upon the Hill, let him speak;* and this with an Adjuration. Upon this *Sobail* came forth, and confessed it, and told the reason why he did it. *Abu Obeidah* was very glad it happened so well, but charged them all strictly, that none of them should ever dare to attempt any such thing again, without the Permission of their General.

Whilst *Abu Obeidah* was talking to *Sobail*, a Saracen came with all speed from the Mountain, and alarm'd the whole Camp. *Herbis* perceiving by how small a Number he was besieged

sieged in the House, being now fewer than five hundred, took Courage, and sallied, in hopes of recovering the City. They fought bravely, and handled the Saracens at such a rate, that *Mesab Ebn Adi*, who was present in most of the Battles fought in *Syria*, said, that of all he ever beheld, he never saw any Men behave themselves better, nor stand closer to it, than those Greeks which were then with the Governour. It was he that rode and gave notice to *Abu Obeidah*, who had no sooner heard it, than he dispatched *Saïd* with an Hundred Archers, and commanded *Derar* to assist him. When they came to the Hill, they found their Friends in a pitiful Condition, for there were no less than seventy Saracens upon the Ground, wounded or killed, and the Greeks laid about them very eagerly. But overpowered with fresh Numbers of their Enemies, they were forced once more to retire to their Monastery, where they were watched with such a vigilant Eye, that one of them could not so much as offer to peep out but the Saracens let fly an Arrow at him.

Abu Obeidah leaving *Saïd Ebn Zeid* to take Care of the Governour, drew up his Men, and ordered them to pitch their Tents about the City; *For* (says he) *God has circumvented your Enemy, and performed that Promise which he*
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made to us, to help us; and this is because God is a Protector of those who put their Trust in him; but as for the Infidels, they have no Protector. *Herbis*, the Governour, finding himself streightened, began to repent himself that ever he came into that old House. He considered with great Concern, that in a very short time he and his Men must needs be reduced for want of Provision. Nor could any about him, supposing they could have found a Possibility of sending, think of any Person capable of assisting them in these deplorable Circumstances. The Saracens having taken so many Places already, had spread such a Terror around the Country, that those which remained were under too great a Concern for their own Preservation, to be at leisure to lend an helping Hand to their distressed Neighbours. A great many others had by Agreement to a Truce, rendered themselves incapable of bearing Arms at that time against the Saracens. In this miserable State, no other Prospect offering itself, compelled by Necessity, they were forced to surrender themselves into the Hands of their Conquerors. *Herbis* calls out aloud, and asks if there were any Person that understood him. Being asked by an Interpreter what he would have; he desired that he might be secured from Danger of the Archers, and that *Saïd* would come near

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and talk with him. *Saïd* answered, that he owed him no such Respect; but if he had any thing to say, he might come to him. Loath to venture himself, he, by means of the Interpreter, got leave to send a Messenger, who coming before *Saïd*, offered to fall down upon his Face by way of Respect. *Saïd* made a Sign to him to forbear, and the Saracens came about him, and held him from doing it: Of which he having asked the reason, *Saïd* said to the Interpreter, *Because both he and I are Servants of God, and it is not lawful to use Adoration and Worship to any but God, who is the proper Object of Worship.* Being examined about his Errand, he said, that he came to desire Protection for *Herbis* and his Men; which was accordingly granted, upon Condition, that they should lay down their Arms, and surrender themselves. The Messenger asked, whether that Security was only from himself, or from the General too? *Saïd* told him, from all the Saracens. When *Herbis* heard this, he came out, and my Author tells us, that he has learnt from Persons worthy of Credit, that *Herbis* when he came out to surrender himself, put off all his Silks, and exchanging with some of his Men, put on Woollen Apparel, suiting his Habit to the Meanness of his present Condition. *Saïd* seeing him come along in this humble Mien, fell down

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down and worshipped God, saying, *Praised be God, who hath humbled their great Ones before us, and given us Dominion over their Rulers.* Then he went to meet him, and bad him come nearer, and sit down by him; and asked him, whether that which he had on was his proper Habit? To which he answered, *That he never had any Woollen on before in his Life, nor knew what it was to wear any thing but Silk.* He demanding of Saïd, whether he had Power, or was willing to grant Security, as well for those in the City as those present with him? Saïd told him, *That as for those which were with him he would grant them Security, upon two Conditions; Either that they should turn Mahometans, and so have one common Interest with them: Or, if they chose rather to continue in the Profession of their own Religion, they should never more bear Arms against the Muslems. But as for those in the City, they were at the General's Disposal; to whom if he was willing to go, he profered his Service to conduct him; and if they could agree upon any Terms, well and good: If not, he should, if he desired it, have free Leave, with as many of his Men as were willing to go back with him, to return to his Monastery again; there to be besieged till God should determine the Matter between them.*

Being brought into the Presence of *Abu Obeidah*, and taking a View of the Saracens about

bout him, considering at the same time what a Condition they had brought him and his Men into, he shaked his Head, and bit his Fingers Ends for Indignation. Being asked what was the reason of that Behaviour? he answered, *That he thought their Number had been much greater than he found it was, now he was come among them. Abu Obeidab bad his Interpreter tell him, That the Number of the true Believers seemed greater in the Eyes of the Idolaters than it really was; because the Angels helped them, as they did at the Battle of Beder, which is the Grace of God towards us; and by this means God gives us the Victory over your Country, and makes your Armies flee before us. That the Angels helped Mahomet in Battle, he has expressly told them in the ¹ Alcoran; and they believed and depended upon the same Assistance, and oftentimes attributed their Success to it; not that any of them pretended ever to have seen these Auxiliary Troops of militant Angels; it being sufficient for their Purpose to be seen by their Enemies. Herbis offered for the whole City of Baalbec one thousand Ounces of Gold, two thousand of Silver, and one thousand Silk Vests. Abu Obeidab told him, If they would have Peace, they must double the Sum, and add to it a Thousand Swords, and all the Arms be-*

¹ Chap. IX. 26. 40.

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longing to those men that were shut up in the Monastery, and pay Tax and Tribute the next Year, and never bear Arms for the time to come, nor write to the Emperor, nor attempt either directly, or indirectly any thing against the Saracens, nor build any Churches or Monasteries. Herbis complaining of the Severity of the Articles, as being all in Favour of the Saracens, desired that the Besieged might at least have this one Article on their side; viz. *That whosoever should be appointed Lieutenant over Baalbec, should not come into the City, nor any of his Men; but pitching his Tents on the out-side of the Walls, should there receive the Tribute imposed upon the Inhabitants.* This being granted, all was agreed upon, only there wanted the Townsmens Consent; who, having heard the Articles, did not approve of them, and said, they would never surrender the strongest City in Syria into the Hands of the Saracens, upon such Terms: But when *Herbis* had remonstrated to them the Danger to which he and his Men must be exposed, if there were not some Agreement made, and the Provision he had made for their Repose and Quiet, in excluding all the Saracens from once entering into the Town; adding withal, that he would lay down a fourth part of what was imposed upon them himself, they at last consented. *Herbis* alone going into the City to raise the
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promised Sum, *Abu Obeidah* detained all the rest of his Men as Hostages, till it should be paid. In twelve Days time he brought it; upon which *Abu Obeidah* dismissed the Men, and calling for *Raphi Ebn Abdo'llah*, left him to take Care of *Baalbec* with five hundred Saracens, giving him a most strict Charge to do nothing but what was right and just, telling him that he had heard the Prophet say, That God had commanded *Moses* and *David* the same thing. He bad him prevent all manner of Disturbance between his Men and the Inhabitants of the City, and have an Eye to the Sea-shore, and pillage all those Places in the Neighbourhood, which had not entered into Articles. Having left him with this Charge, he moved towards *Hems*; and before he came thither, the Prefect of *Jusbiyah* met him with a Present, which he accepting, renewed the Truce with him.

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Raphi very punctually executed his Charge, and both he and his Men behaved themselves so inoffensively, that the Citizens and the Saracens grew very well acquainted. The Saracens, according to their Custom, plundering all the Neighbourhood, sold what they got to the Citizens, who began to be in a fair way of growing rich with the Spoils of their Country-men and Fellow-Christians. *Herbis*, formerly their

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Governour, perceiving this, began to consider which way he might bring himself in for a Share of the Gains : Wherefore, calling them together, he represented what Hazard he had exposed himself to for their Preservation, whilst it was in his Power, and what Pains he had taken to procure them those Articles of Peace, of which they now reaped the Benefit ; besides the paying down, at his own proper Expence, the fourth part of what was imposed upon them all ; adding, that he thought it nothing but reasonable, that since they were in a Capacity, he should be reimbursed. This was consented to without any Opposition ; but he told them, that he did not desire to deprive any of them of any part of their Substance, but only they should agree to pay him the Tenth of what they saved in their Trading with the *Arabs*. They were at first very unwilling to come to this ; but after Debate, considering his Quality, as having been once their Governour, though now reduced to the same Condition with themselves, and that when Necessity required it, he had not spared his own private Substance for the publick Good, they at last agreed to it. This done, he appoints a Tythe-man to gather it, and in a few Days it amounted to a very considerable Sum. The Sweetness of this Gain, instead of extinguishing, encreased his Thirst ; where-

whereupon in a second Meeting he told them, that it would be a long time before what he had laid out would be repaid at this Rate, and proposed, that either they should admit him one of their Company, or else instead of a Tenth, pay him a Fourth Part of all their Gains. The People, vexed to the Heart at this squeezing, insatiable Temper, cryed out, *Away with him, and all such unreasonable Wretches, we had better be governed by the Saracens than such; for they are better, and more just;* and with a great Noise and Shout rushed upon him, and killed him. The Saracens without heard the Noise, but did not know what was the Matter; neither would *Raphi* go into the City contrary to the Agreement, but said, if there was any Difference between them, and they came out to him, he would endeavour to make them Friends. Presently after they came thronging out to him, and acquainted him with what they had done; how civil they were to their Prefect, in answering his first Demand, and how unreasonable he had been in coveting more, desiring *Raphi* to come into the City, and govern it himself; which he refused, till he had wrote to *Abu Obeidab*; who sent him Word, that since the People were willing, he ought not to scruple it: Upon which he and his Men went into ²*Baalbec*, on the twentieth Day of *January*,

² *Hegirah* 15th. A. D. 637.

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in the Year of our Lord, six hundred and thirty six.

Leaving *Baalbec*, we must now march to *Hems*; before which *Abu Obeidah* having brought his Army, before any Attempt made upon it, sent to the Governour the following Letter.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

From Abu Obeidah Ebn Aljerâhh, Lieutenant in Syria to the Emperor of the Faithful Omar, Ebn Alchitâb, (whom God bless) and General of his Forces. The most mighty God hath conquered several Places by our Hands; wherefore do not let the Greatness of your City, nor the Strength of your Buildings, nor the Plenty of your Stores, nor the Bigness of your Bodies, deceive you: For your City is no more in our Hands, when we come to war against it, than if we should set a Pot upon a Stone in the midst of our Camp, and all the Army should come round about it, to take every one of them a mouthful. In the first Place therefore, I invite you to our Religion, and that Law which our Prophet Mahomet, of blessed Memory, brought us. Which if you shall receive, then shall you partake with us in all our Fortunes, good and bad; and we will send you Men to instruct you in your Religion, as God has commanded us. If you refuse the Mahometan Religion, we shall continue you in your Possessions,

Possessions, paying Tribute. If neither of these Conditions please you, come out and fight us, till God, who is the best Judge, shall determine between us.

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This being no sooner received than rejected with the utmost Scorn, both Sides prepared themselves, the Saracens for an Assault, the Besieged for their Defence. The Besieged sallying, made so good a Days Work of it, that the Saracens had little Reason to boast of their Victory. There was present a great Man among the *Arabs*, a Person of extraordinary Sagacity and Penetration, and had himself many times commanded an Army with good Conduct and Success: He, considering well the Strength of the Place, and the Courage and Resolution of the Inhabitants, told *Abu Obeidab* privately, that he might sooner expect to conquer *Hems* by Stratagem, than Force of Arms, and proposed to him to raise the Siege, if he could induce the Besieged to let him have five Days Provision for his Men and Horses, upon that Condition: By which Means their Stock of Provision would be very much diminished, and he might take a fit Opportunity of surprizing them. This Advice being approved, *Abu Obeidab* acquainted the Besieged with his Design of intermitting the Siege of *Hems*, and trying his Fortune at other Places, of which there still

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remained unconquered a great Number in *Syria* very well fortified, upon the Condition afore-mentioned. The People willing at any Rate to get rid of such troublesome Neighbours, considering withal those many Accidents that might prevent their ever returning thither, or at least defer it a long time, easily assented. The Governour himself being as willing as any to compound with the Saracens upon these Terms, told his People, That the *Arabs* were like wild Beasts, greedy of Prey ; wherefore he thought it the best way to give them something to fill their Bellies, and send them packing. Upon this he sends some of the chief Clergy to *Abu Obeidab*, to make the Agreement, and take a Copy of the Articles : Which being done, the Citizens brought out their Provision, according to the Agreement. *Abu Obeidab* told them, that since their intended March was likely to be tedious, he should be very glad to buy the Remainder of their Provision. The People were willing to sell, and the Mahometans bought as long as they had any thing left to buy withal, or exchange for.

Some Spies belonging to the Emperor, being at that time in the Saracen Camp, and perceiving the *Emessens* set open their Gates, and bring out their Provisions, without taking time to inform themselves thoroughly of the Cause
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of it, went and spread a Report about the Country, that *Hems* was surrendered, to the great Surprize and Discouragement of the rest, who had their Hearts daily filled with the increasing Terror of the Saracens. *Abu Obeidab* from *Hems* went to *Arrestân*, a strong Place, well watered, and full of Soldiers; where his Summons being rejected, he desired the Favour of the Governour of the Castle to leave some old Lumber, which would be troublesome and cumbersome to them in their speedy March. This was without much Scruple granted, all being desirous of their Absence upon any Terms. Upon this he takes twenty Chests, and enclosing in them twenty chosen Men; to prevent all Suspicion, puts Locks upon the Out-sides of them, the Bottoms of the Chests being so contrived, as to slip backward and forward as he within pleased. These received into the Castle, the Saracens marched, only *Caled* was left with some Forces, by way of Ambuscade, to assist those in the Chests. The Saracens gone, the Christians went to Church to give Thanks for the Departure of their Enemies, and were heard singing Psalms by *Derar*, *Abdo'rrhamân*, and *Abdo'llab* in the Chests, who taking this Opportunity, came forth, and having seized the Governour's Lady, demanded the Keys of the Gates. From thence they went to the Church,

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Church, where they, without Difficulty, surprized the unarmed Multitude. Then *Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar*, who commanded them, sent five of them with the Keys to open the Gates, and cry out *Allàh Acbar* ; which done, *Caled*, who was within hearing, came up, and *Arrestân* was taken without Opposition.

This made the Conditions much more easy to the Inhabitants, the *Saracens* not expecting such an unbloody Conquest. Wherefore, they resigning themselves without any more to do, had their Liberty granted to go where they pleased. Some of them changed their Religion, though the greater Number still retained their Christianity, and went to *Hems*.

Two Thousand Men being left in Garrison at *Arrestân*, *Abu Obeidah* moves with his Army to *Sbaizar*. He had no sooner sent his Summons, than there arose a great Dispute about surrendering the Place : The Conquest of *Arrestân*, *Baalbec*, *Damascus*, *Bostra*, and as they supposed of *Hems*, gave them just reason to fear, that they should not be able to defend *Sbaizar*, not superior to those Places, either in Strength of its Situation, or Number of its Soldiers. The Governour held out obstinately, and gave them a great deal of reproachful Language, swearing and cursing them, and commanded his Servants to strike some of them. The chief
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Men, provoked at this tyrannical Usage, drew their Swords, and fell upon him and his Party. Having made a quick Dispatch of them, they opened the Gates, and surrendered to *Abu Obeidab*, who received them very gladly, and gave them hearty Thanks for saving him the Trouble of Fighting: adding, *That since they had behaved themselves so well, and expressed such a Desire of living under the Government of the Saracens, he would not dismiss them without some distinguishing Mark of his Favour.* Upon which he told them, *That he would not force any of them to change their Religion against their Will, nor put them to any Extremities; but if any of them would come in of their own accord, they should pay no Tax or Custom, as other Mahometans did, for two Years. If they chose to continue in their old Religion, they should pay no Tribute for the space of one Year.*

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Shaizar was now taken into Possession, and *Abu Obeidab* reminded his Muslemans, that they were no longer under any Obligation to the People of *Hems*, having punctually performed whatever they had promised them. The Governour of *Hems* was not so well satisfied, for as soon as the Saracen Army came to appear before the City, he sent a Messenger to expostulate with *Abu Obeidab* concerning his Perfidy and Breach of Promise: Who gave him no other

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other Answer, than that he desired those Clergy who had made the Agreement with him first should come to him again, and let themselves be Judges whether or no he had fulfill'd his Promise to a Tittle. Upon their coming, he asked them, *Did not I make an Agreement with you, to leave Hems, till I had conquered some other City of Syria? And was it not left to my Liberty after that, either to go to any other Place, or return to you?* When this could not be denied, *Well then,* answered he, *since we have conquered Arrestân and Shaizar, we are under no further Obligation to you, and there remains nothing, but that you surrender.*

There being no Remedy left, nor any one whom they might justly blame but themselves, for not having taken better Care at first, they prepared to fight. The Inhabitants, though not a little disheartened when they reflected upon their Scarcity of Provision, to which their unseasonable Credulity had exposed them; encouraged by their Governour, resolved to try their Fortune in the Field. That Evening they went to Prayers, to implore the Divine Assistance, the Governour himself receiving the Communion at St. George's Church, (since turned into a Mosque.) When he came back, he eat for his Supper a whole roasted Kid, and sat up drinking Wine all Night. Thus prepared for
Battle,

Battle, having put on very rich Cloaths, he sallied out in the Morning at the Head of five Thousand Horse, compleatly armed, all Men of approv'd Courage, and resolv'd to die for the Defence of their Country. And though the *Saracens* came out against them with a much greater Number, yet they nevertheless stood their Ground, without the least Expression of Fear or Concern. The Christian Archers galled the *Saracens* terribly with poisoned Arrows, and charged them with such Courage, that they were forced to give way. Whilst *Caled* was labouring to restore the Battle, he made a very narrow Escape; for, engaging with one of the *Greeks*, his Sword broke in his Hand: Upon which, closing with his Adversary, he squeezed him so close to him, that he broke his Ribs, and and threw him down dead off from his Horse. About Noon, *Mirkāl* and *Meisarab* made an Impression upon the Right Wing of the Christians, and *Kais Ebn Hobeirah* upon the Left. But among all the *Saracens*, none signalized himself so much that Day as *I'krimah*, *Caled's* Cousin: He, thirsting after the imaginary Joys of *Mahomet's* Fools Paradise, cried out aloud, *Metbinks I see the black-eyed Girls looking upon me, one of which, if she should appear in this World, all Mankind would die for the Love of her. And I see in the Hand of one of them an Hand-*
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kerchief of green Silk, and a Cup made of precious Stones, and she beckons me, and calls out, Come hither quickly, for I love thee. With these Words charging the Christians, he made Havoock where he went, till observed at last by the Governour of Hems, he was struck through with a Javelin. When Night parted them, the *Saracens* returned to their Camp, having had the worst of it all that Day. *Caled*, assuring himself that this Success would easily induce the *Greeks* to believe the *Saracens* afraid of them, perswaded *Abu Obeidah* to fly before them the next Morning, to draw them into Disorder. Nor did this Advice fail of the desired Success; for the *Greeks* had beaten them too well the Day before, to entertain the least Suspicion that their Flight was feigned. Whereupon, pursuing them unwarily, and out of Order, they were about Noon surrounded by the returning *Saracens*; *Who*, to use my Author's own Expression, *fell upon them like Eagles upon a Carcase*. Some of the *Greeks* had ventured to plunder the *Saracens* Tents; but whilst they were differently employed, some in the Pursuit, others in the Spoil, the far greater part of them were intercepted by the *Saracens*; nor had any of them escaped, unless relieved by some of the Besieged sallying from the City. The Governour fell among the rest, easily distinguished by his

his red Face, large Size, and rich Apparel, perfumed with Musk. This Defeat determined the Besieged to surrender; but the *Saracens*, who having heard so often of the Emperor's Preparation against them, expected a bloody Battle daily, had no leisure to stay and take Possession, nor any Men to spare by way of Garrison: Wherefore they took the Christians at their Word, and never a Man of them went into the City, till after the great Battle of *Yermouk*, which determined the Fate of *Syria*, and put the *Saracens* out of all Fear of ever meeting from the Emperor the like Opposition. The *Saracens* departed from *Hems*, having lost that Day two hundred and thirty five Men. The Christians burying their Dead, found them above one Thousand six hundred.

HERACLIUS, wearied with a constant and uninterrupted Succession of Messengers of ill News; which, like those of *Job*, came every Day treading one upon the Heels of another; grieved at the Heart to see the *Roman* Empire, once the Mistress of the World, now become the Scorn and Triumph of *Barbarian* Insolence; resolved, if possible, to put an End to the Outrages of the *Saracens* once for all; and, in order to it, raised such an Army out of all Parts of his Dominions, as, since the first Invasion of the *Saracens*, had never appeared in *Syria* before.

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Omar.
Alwákidi.

Not much unlike one engaged in single Combat, who, distrustful of his own Abilities, and fearing the worst, summons together his whole Strength, in hopes of ending the Dispute with one determining Stroke. Forces were sent to all defensible Places, which this Inundation of the *Saracens* had as yet left untouched: Particularly to *Cæsarea*, and all the Sea-coast of *Syria*; as *Tyre* and *Sidon*, *Accab*, *Joppa*, *Tripolis*, *Beirout*, and *Tiberias*, besides another Army to defend *Jerusalem*. But the main Body of all, which was designed to give Battle to the whole Forces of the *Saracens*, was commanded by one *Mahân*, an *Armenian*, whom I take to be the very same that the *Greek* Historians call *Manuel*. When the Emperor had given the Generals his best Advice, and charged them to behave themselves like Men, and especially to take Care that there was no Differences nor Dissentions among themselves; He asked them what should be the Reason of this surprizing Success of the *Arabs*, inferior to the *Greeks* both in Number, Strength, Arms and Discipline? After a short Silence, a grave Man stood up, and told him, *That the Reason was, because the Greeks had walked unworthy of their Christian Profession, and changed their Religion from what it was when Jesus Christ first delivered it to them, injuring and oppressing one another, taking Usury, committing*
For-

Fornication, and fomenting Strife and Variance among themselves. And indeed the Vices of these Christians were at that time so flagrant, as to make them stink in the Nostrils of the very *Infidels*, ' confessed by the *Greek Writers* themselves, and aggravated by the *Arabick* ones. The Emperor answered, *That he was too sensible of it; adding, That he had Thoughts of continuing with them there no longer; but leaving his Army to their Management, would withdraw himself to Constantinople.* In answer to which, they represented to him, how much his Departure would reflect upon his Honour, what a lessening it would be to him in the Eyes of his own Subjects, and what occasion of Triumph it would afford to his Enemies the *Saracens*. Upon this they took their Leave, and prepared for their March: *Mabân*, besides a vast Army of *Asiaticks* and *Europeans*, having joined to him *Jabalab Ebno'l Ayham*, King of the Christian Arabs, who had under him sixty Thousand Men. These *Mabân* commanded to march always in the Front, saying, *There was nothing like Diamond to cut Diamond.* This great Army, raised for the Defence of Christian People, was

¹ Οὐτῶ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τότε ὑπὸ τε τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν δυσσεβῶν ἱερέων ταραττομένης, ἀνέστη ὁ ἐρημικῶς Ἀμαλὴκ τύπλων ἡμᾶς τὸν λαὸν τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ γίνεσθαι πρώτη φόρᾳ πῶσις τῷ ῥωμαϊκῷ Στρατῷ, ἢ κατὰ τὸ Γαβιθὰν λέγω καὶ Ἱερμεχὰν καὶ τὴν ἄθισμον αἰμαλοχυσίαν. *Theophan.* p. 276.

Omar.
Alwákidi.

little less insupportable than the Saracens themselves, committing all manner of Disorder and Outrage as they passed along, especially when they came to any of those Places which had made any Agreement with the Saracens, or surrendered to them, they swore and cursed, and reviled the Inhabitants with reproachful Language, and compelled them by Force to bear them Company. The poor People excused their Submission to the Saracens, by their Inability to defend themselves, and told the Soldiers, that if they did not approve of what they had done, they ought themselves to have come sooner to their Relief.

The News of this great Army having reached the Saracens Ears, whilst they were at *Hems*, filled them full of Apprehensions, and put them to a very great Sreight which way to manage in this critical Juncture. Some of them would very willingly have shrunk back, and returned to *Arabia*: In which they proposed to themselves a double Advantage, speedy Assistance from their Friends, and the great Scarcity to which the numerous Army of the Enemy must needs be reduced in that barren Country; but *Abu Obeidah* fearing lest such a Retreat might by the *Caliph* be interpreted Cowardice in him, durst not approve of this Advice. Others rather chose to die in the Defence of those

those stately Buildings, fruitful Fields, and pleasant Meadows they had won by the Sword, than retire Volunteers to their former starving Condition; and proposed to stay there where they were, and expect the Approach of the Enemy. *Caled* was not for staying there, it being too near *Cæsarea*, where *Constantine* the Emperor's Son lay with forty thousand Men; but proposed to march to *Yermouk*, where they might expect Assistance from the *Caliph*. As soon as *Constantine* heard of their Departure, he sent a chiding Letter to *Mabán*, and bad him mend his Pace. *Mabán* advanced, but made no hast to give the Saracens Battle, having received Orders from the Emperor to make Overtures of Peace, which were no sooner proposed than rejected by *Abu Obeidab*. There passed several Messages between them. The Saracens endeavouring to bring their Countryman *Jabalab Ebno'l Ayham*, with his Christian Arabs, to a Neutrality, were answered, that they were obliged to serve the Emperor, and resolved to fight. Upon this, *Caled*, contrary to the Advice of all, prepared to give him Battle first, before *Mabán* should come up, with a very inconsiderable Number of Men, picked out of the whole Army; urging that the *Christians* being the Army of the Devil, had no Advantage by their Numbers against the

Omar.
Alwākidi.

Saracens, the Army of God. It was observed, that *Caled* in choosing his Men, called out more ¹ *Anfers* than ² *Mohagerins*, which occasioned some grumbling among them, being in doubt whether it was because he respected them most, or because he had a Mind to expose them to the greatest Danger, that he might favour the others: A very impertinent Scruple, in my Opinion, since he was to go with them himself. *Caled* told them, that he had chosen them without any such regard, only because they were Persons he could depend upon, whose Valour he had proved, and who had the Faith rooted in their Hearts. One *Cathib* happening to be called after his Brother *Sabal*, looking upon himself to be the better Man, resented it as an high Affront, and abused *Caled*, who gave him very gentle modest Answers, to the great Satisfaction of all, especially *Abu Obeidab*, who, after a short Contention, made them shake Hands. *Caled* indeed was admirable for this, that he knew no less how to govern his Passions, than command an Army; the latter of which proves to most great Generals the

¹ Those of *Medinah* are called by that Name, because they helped *Mahomet* in his Flight from *Meccah*.

² Those that fled with him are called *Mohagerins*; and by these Names the Inhabitants of *Meccah* and *Medinah* are often distinguished, as has been observed in the beginning of this Book.

easier Task of the two. His Success in this very hazardous Undertaking was beyond all Expectation, for he put *Jabalab's Arabs* into Disorder, and killed a great many, losing very few of his own upon the Spot, and five Prisoners, three of which were *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirab*, and *Derar Ebno'l Azwâr*; all Men of great Note, and frequently mentioned before. *Abu Obeidah* sent *Abdo'llah Ebn Kort* with an Express to *Omar*, acquainting him with their whole Circumstances, begging his Prayers, and some fresh Recruits of ³ *UNITARIANS*, a Title they glory in, reckoning themselves the only Asserters of the Unity of the Deity. *Omar* and the whole Court were extremely surpris'd, but comforted themselves with the Promises made to them in the *Alcoran*, which seem'd now to be all they had left to trust to. To encourage the People, he went into the Pulpit, and shew'd them the Excellency of fighting for the Cause of God, and return'd an Answer to *Abu Obeidah*, full of such spiritual Consolation as the *Alcoran* could afford. *Omar* commanded *Abdo'llah*, that as soon as ever he came near the Camp, before he deliver'd the Letter, he should cry out, *Good News*, to comfort the Muslemans, and ease them in some measure of those perplexing

³ Arab. *Mowabbidina*.

Omar.
Alwákidi.

Apprehensions they laboured under. He having received his Letter and Message, together with Omar's Blessing, set forwards on his Journey towards the Army; but recollecting himself, he remembered that he had forgot to pay his Respects at *Mahomet's* Tomb, which whether or no he should ever see again, was very uncertain: Upon which he hastens to *Ayesha's* House, (the Place where *Mahomet* was buried) and finds her sitting by the Tomb, with *Ali* and *Abbás*, and *Hasan* and *Hosein*, (*Ali's* Sons) one upon *Ali's* Lap, the other upon *Abbás's*. *Ali* was reading the Chapter of *Beasts*, being the sixth of the *Alcoran*; and *Abbás* the Chapter of *Hud*, which is the eleventh. *Abdo'llah* having paid his Respects to *Mahomet*, *Ali* asked him, whether he did not think of going? He answered, Yes; but he feared he should not get to the Army before the Battle, which he willingly would do, if possible. *If you desired a speedy Journey*, (answered *Ali*) *why did not you ask Omar to pray for you? Don't you know, that the Prayers of Omar will not be turned back? Because the Apostle of God said of him, "If there were a* " Prophet to be expected after me, it would be " Omar, whose Judgment agrees with the " Book of God. *The Prophet said of him besides,* " If any [universal] Calamity were to descend " from

“ from Heaven upon Mankind, Omar would
 “ escape from it.” *Wherefore if Omar prayed*
for thee, thou shalt not stay long for an Answer
from God. Abdo'llah told him, That he had not
spoken one Word in Praise of Omar, but what
he was very sensible of before, only he desired to
have his Prayers and those of the rest of the
Muslemans added too, especially being at the Tomb
of the Prophet. All that were present lifting up
their Hands to Heaven, Ali said, O God! I be-
seech thee, for the sake of this chosen Apostle (in
whose Name Adam prayed, and thou answeredst
his Petition, and forgavest his Sins) that thou
wouldest grant to Abdo'llah Edn Kort a safe
and speedy Return, and assist the Followers of thy
Prophet with Help, O thou who alone art great
and munificent! Immediately he set forth, and
returned to the Camp with such incredible
speed, that the Saracens there were surprised.
But their Admiration ceased, when he inform-
ed them of Omar's Blessing, and Ali's Prayers
at Mahomet's Tomb.

Omar.
 Alwákidi.

Recruits were instantly raised to send out of
Arabia to the Army. Saïd Ebn Amir com-
manded them, having received a Flag of red
Silk at the Hands of Omar, who told him that
he gave him that Commission in hopes of his
behaving himself well in it; advising him, a-
mong other things, not to follow his Appetites;

Omar.
Alwákidi.

not forgetting to put him in hopes of further Encouragement, if he should deserve it. *Saïd* thanked him for his Advice; adding, that if he followed it, he should be saved. *And now* (says *Saïd*) *as you have advised me, so let me advise you. Speak on,* says *Omar*, *I bid you then,* (added the other) *fear God more than Men, and not the contrary; and love all the Muslemans as your self and your Family, as well those at a Distance, as those near you. And command that which is Praise-worthy, and forbid that which is otherwise.* *Omar*, all the while he spoke, stood looking stedfastly upon the Ground, leaning his Forehead upon his Staff. Then he lift up his Head, and the Tears ran down his Cheeks, and he said, *Who is able to do this without the Divine Assistance.* *Ali* bad *Saïd* make good use of the *Caliph's* Advice, and dismissed him. *Saïd* marching towards the Army lost his Way, unfortunately for the Christians; for by that means he happened upon the Prefect of *Amman* with five thousand Men. *Saïd* cut all the Foot to Pieces; the Prefect flying with the Horse, was intercepted by a Party sent out from the Saracen Camp to forage. *Saïd* at first thought they had fallen together by the Ears among themselves, but when he came up, and heard the *Tecbîr*, he was well satisfied. *Zobeir* thrust the Prefect through with a Lance; of the rest

never

never a Man escaped. The *Saracens* cut off all their Heads, then flayed them, and so carried them upon the Points of their Lances, presenting a most horrible Spectacle to all that part of the Country, till they came to the Army, which received new Courage, by the Accession of this Recruit sent from the *Caliph*, consisting of eight thousand Men.

Omar.
Alwákidi.

However their Satisfaction was very much allayed by the Loss of those five Prisoners, which *Jabalab Ebno'l Ayham* had taken. It fortuneed that *Mabân* desired *Abu Obeidah* to send some body to him to discourse with ; which being granted, *Caled* profered his Service, and by *Abu Obeidah's* Advice took along with him an hundred chosen Men, of the best Soldiers in the Army. Being met by the Out-Guards, the Chief of which was *Jabalab Ebno'l Ayham*, and examined, they were ordered to stay there till the General's Pleasure should be known. *Mabân* would have had *Caled* come to him alone, and leave his Men behind him : Which he refusing, they were commanded, when they came near, to alight from their Horses, and deliver their Swords ; to which when they would not submit, they were at last permitted to enter as they pleased. They found *Mabân* sitting upon a Throne, and there were Seats prepared for them. But they refused to sit on them, and removing

Omar.
Alwākidi.

moving them, sat down upon the Ground. *Mabân* asked them the Reason of their doing so, and taxed them with want of Breeding. To which *Caled* answered, *That that was the best Breeding which was from God, and what God has prepared for us to sit down upon, is purer than your Tapestries*; defending their Practice from a Sentence of their Prophet *Mahomet*, backed with this Text of the *Alcoran*,^s *Out of it, (meaning the Earth) we have created you, and to it we shall return you, and out of it we shall bring you another time.* *Mabân* began then to expostulate with *Caled*, concerning their coming into *Syria*, and all those Hostilities which they had committed there; but the Account is too tedious to be inserted, especially since I have before given an Account of some Conferences much of the same Nature. Only this may be observed, that *Mabân* seemed satisfied with *Caled*'s way of talking, and said, that he had before that time entertained a quite different Opinion of the *Arabs*, having been informed that they were a foolish ignorant People. *Caled* confessed, that that was the Condition of most of them, till God sent their Prophet *Mahomet* to lead them into the right Way, and teach them to distinguish Good from Evil, and Truth from Error. Sometimes they argu-

^s *Alcoran*, Chap. XX. 57.

ed very coolly, and then again flew into a violent Passion, till at last *Caled* told *Mabân*, that he should one Day see him led with a Rope about his Neck to *Omar*, to be beheaded. *Mabân* told him, that the received Law of all Nations secured Ambassadors from Violence, which he supposed had encouraged him to take that indecent Freedom ; however he was resolved to chastize his Insolence in the Persons of his Friends the five Prisoners, who should instantly be beheaded. *Caled* bid him attend, and swore by God, by *Mahomet*, and the holy Temple of *Meccah*, that if he killed them, he should die by his Hands, and every *Saracen* present should kill his Man, let the Consequences be what they would ; and immediately rose from his Place, and drew his Sword. The like did all the rest of the *Saracens*. But when *Mabân* told him, that he would not meddle with him for the aforesaid Reasons, they sheathed their Swords, and talked calmly again ; after which *Mabân* made *Caled* a Present of the Prisoners, and desired him to give him his Scarlet Tent, which *Caled* had brought with him, and pitched hard by. *Caled* freely gave it him, and refused to take any thing, (though *Mabân* gave him his Choice of whatever he liked best) thinking his Kindness abundantly recompensed in the restoring the Prisoners.

Both

Omar.
Alwákidi.

Both sides now prepared for that Fight which was to determine the Fate of *Syria*. The Particulars are too tedious to be related, for they continued Fighting several Days. *Abu Obeidah* resigned the whole Command of the Army to *Caled*, standing himself in the Rear, under the yellow Flag, which *Abubeker* had given him at his first setting forth into *Syria*; being the same which *Mahomet* himself had fought under at the Battle of *Chaibar*. That was judged by *Caled* the properest Place for him, not only because he was no extraordinary Soldier, but that the Reverence of him might prevent the Flight of the *Saracens*, who were now like to be as hard put to it, as at any time since they first bore Arms. For the same Reason the Women were placed in the Rear. The *Greeks* charged so courageously, and with such vast Numbers, that the Right Wing of the *Saracen* Horse was quite born down, and broken off from the main Body the Army. But no sooner did they turn their Backs, but they were so warmly received by the Women, who used them so ill, and loaded them with such Plenty of Reproaches, that they were glad to return every Man to his Post, and chose rather to face the Enemy, than endure the Storm. However they had much ado to bear up, and were pressed so hard by the *Greeks*, that they were sometimes obliged to forget

forget what their Generals had said a little before the Fight, who told them, *That Paradise was before them, and the Devil and Hell-fire behind them.* Abu Sophyan, who had used that very Expression himself, was forced to retreat, and received from one of the Women an hearty Blow over the Face with a Tent-pole for his Pains. Night at last parted them, about such time as the Victory began to encline to the *Saracens*, who had been thrice beaten back, and as often restored by the Women. Then *Abu Obeidah* said at once those Prayers which belonged to two several Hours; I suppose because his Men should have the more time to rest, which he was very tender of; walking about the Camp, looking after the wounded Men, and oftentimes binding up their Wounds with his own Hands; telling them, *That their Enemies suffered the same Pain which they did, but had not that Reward to expect from God which they had.*

Omar.
Alwákidi.

Among other single Combats, of which there were several fought between the two Armies; it chanced that *Serjabil Ebn Shabhnab* was engaged with an Officer of the Christians, who was much too strong for him. The Reason our Author assigns, is, because *Serjabil* was wholly given up to Watching and Fasting. *Derar* thought he ought not to stand still and see the

Pro-

Omar.
Alwákidi.

Prophet's Secretary killed ; and took his Dagger, whilst the Combatants were over Head and Ears in Dust, and coming behind the Christian, stabbed him to the Heart. The *Saracens* gave *Derar* Thanks for his Service ; but he said that he would receive no Thanks but from God. Upon this there arose a Difference between *Serjabil* and *Derar* concerning the Spoil of this Officer. *Derar* claimed it, as being the Person that killed him. *Serjabil*, as having engaged him, and tired him out first. The Matter being referred to *Abu Obeidah*, he proposed the Case to the Caliph, concealing the Names of the Persons concerned ; who sent him word, that the Spoil of any Enemy was due to him that killed him : Upon which *Abu Obeidah* took it from *Serjabil*, and adjudged it to *Derar*.'

Another Day, the Christian Archers did such Execution, that besides those Saracens which were killed, and wounded in other Parts, there were seven hundred which lost each of them one or both of their Eyes ; upon which Account, the Day in which that Battle was fought is called *Yaumo'ttéwír*, *The Day of Blinding* : And if any of those that lost their Eyes that Day, were afterwards asked by what Mischance he was blinded ? He answered, that it was not a *Mischance*, but a Token of Favour from God ; for they gloried as much in those Wounds they received in

in the Defence of their Superstition, as our Enthusiasts do in what they call Persecution, and with much the same Reason. *Abd'ollah Ebn Kort*, who was present in all the Wars in *Syria*, says, that he never saw so hard a Battle as that which was fought on that Day at *Yermouk*; and though the Generals fought most desperately, yet after all they had been beaten, if the Battle had not again been restored by the Women. *Caulah*, *Derar's* Sister, was wounded and fell down. *Opheirah* revenged her Quarrel, and struck off the Man's Head that did it; and asking her how she did, she answered, *Very well with God, but a dying Woman*. However, she proved to be mistaken, for in the Evening she was walking about as if she had ailed nothing, and looking after the wounded Men.

Omar.
Alwákidi.

The *Greeks* in the Night had another Calamity added to their Misfortune of losing the Victory, drawn upon them by their own inhuman Barbarity. There was at *Yermouk* a Gentleman of a very plentiful Fortune, who had removed from *Hems* thither for the Sweetness of the Air. When *Mehân's* Army came thither, this Gentleman used to entertain the Officers, and treat them nobly. To requite him for his Courtesy, whilst they were revelling at his House, they bad him bring out his Wife to them; which he refusing, they took her by Force,

Omar.
Alwākidi.

Force, and abused her all Night ; and, to [add to his Affliction, they took a little Son of his, and cut his Head off. The poor Lady took her Child's Head, and carried it to *Mahân* ; and having given him an Account of the Outrages committed by his Officers, demanded Satisfaction. He took but little Notice of it, and put her off with a slight Answer. Upon which her Husband, resolved to take the first Opportunity of being revenged, went privately over to the Saracens, and acquainted them with his Design. Returning back to the *Greeks*, he told them, it was now in his Power to do them singular Service : He takes a great Number of them, and brings them to a great Water, very deep, and fordable only at one Place. Five hundred Saracen Horse, instructed by him, came over where the Water was shallow, and attack the *Greeks*, but in a very little time return orderly the same way they came. The injured Gentleman calls out, and encourages the *Greeks* to pursue, ¹ who plunging into the Water confusedly, and not at all acquainted with the Place, perished in great Numbers. In those Battles fought afterwards at *Yermouk*, (which were all in *November, 636*,) the Christians had the worst, till at last *Mahân's* vast Army being broken, and

¹ Καὶ ἑαυτοὺς βάλλοντες εἰς τὰς στενοὰς τῆ Ἱερμόχθου ποταμοῦ ἐκεῖ ἀπώλοντο ἄρδην. *Theoph.* p. 280.

shattered to Pieces, he was forced to fly, and leave the Saracens Masters of the Field, now quite delivered from those terrible Apprehensions, which the News of this great Preparation had filled them with at first.

Omar.
Alwákidi.

A short time after *Abu Obeidah* wrote to the *Caliph* the following Letter.

In the Name of the most merciful God, &c.

This is to acquaint thee, that I encamped at Yermouk, and Mahân was near us, with such an Army as the Muslemans never beheld a greater; but God overthrew this Multitude, and gave us the Victory over them, out of his abundant Grace and Goodness. We killed of them about an hundred and fifty thousand, and took forty thousand Prisoners. Of the Muslemans were killed four thousand and thirty, to whom God has decreed the Honour of Martyrdom. I found some Heads cut off, not knowing whether they belonged to the Muslemans or Christians, and I prayed over them and buried them. Mahân was afterwards killed at Damascus by Nomân Ebn Alkamah. There was one Abu Joâid, that belonged to them before the Battle, that came from Hems, he drowned of them a great Number, unknown to any but God. As for those that fled into the Deserts and Mountains, we have destroyed them all, and stopped all the Roads and Passages, and God has made

Omar.
Alwákidi.

us Masters of their Country, and Wealth, and Children. Written after the Victory from Damascus, where I stay expecting thy Orders concerning the Division of the Spoil. Fare thee well, and the Mercy and Blessing of God be upon thee, and all the Muslemans.

Omar, in a short Letter, expressed his Satisfaction, and gave the Saracens Thanks for their Perseverance and Diligence ; commanding *Abu Obeidah* to continue where he was till further Orders, but mentioned nothing concerning the Spoil : Upon which *Abu Obeidah* looking upon it as left to his own Discretion, divided it, without staying for further Orders. To an Horseman he gave thrice as much as to a Footman, and made a farther Difference between those Horses which were of the right *Arabian Breed*, (which they looked upon to be far the best) and those that were not, allowing twice as much to the former as to the latter ; with which Division they not being satisfied, *Abu Obeidah* told them, that the Prophet did the same after the Battle of *Chaubar* ; which, upon Appeal made to Omar, was by him confirmed. *Zobeir* had at the Battle of *Yermouk* two Horses, which he used to ride by turns : He received five Lots, three for himself, and two for his Horses. If any Slaves had run away from their Masters before the Battle, and were afterwards retaken, they were restored

to

to their proper Masters, who nevertheless received an equal Share of the Spoil with the rest.

Omar.
Alwākidi.

The Saracens having rested a Month at *Damascus*, and refreshed themselves, *Abu Obeidah* sent to *Omar*, to know whether he should go to *Cæsarea* or *Jerusalem*. *Ali* being present when *Omar* was deliberating, said, to *Jerusalem* first; adding, that he had heard the Prophet say as much. This City they had a great Longing after, as being the Seat and Burying-place of a great many of the ancient Prophets, in whom they reckoned none to be so much interested as themselves. *Abu Obeidah* having received Orders to besiege it, sent *Yezid Ebn Abi Sofyan* thither first, with five thousand Men; and for five Days together sent after him considerable Numbers of Men, under such Officers as he thought fit to appoint. The *Ierusalemites* expressed no Signs of Fear, nor would they vouchsafe so much as to send out a Messenger to parley, but made Preparation for a vigorous Defence, and planted their Engines upon the Walls. *Yezid* at last went near the Walls, with an Interpreter, to know their Minds, and propose the usual Terms; which being rejected, the Saracens would willingly have assaulted the Besieged, had not *Yezid* told them, that the General had not commanded them to make any

Omar.
Alwákidi.

Affault, but only to sit down before the City ; and thereupon sent to *Abu Obeidab*, who forthwith gave them Order to fight. The next Morning the Generals said the Morning Prayer, each at the Head of his Men ; and, as it were with one Consent, it seems every one of them quoted this Versicle out of the *Alcoran*, as being very apposite and pertinent to their present Purpose, ¹ *O People ! enter ye into the holy Land which God hath decreed for you ;* being the twenty fourth Verse of the fifth Chapter of the *Alcoran*, where the Impostor introduces *Moses* speaking to the Children of *Israel* : Which Words the Saracens dexterously interpreted to belong no less to themselves, than to their Predecessors the *Israelites*. Nor have these Parts of the World been altogether destitute of such able Expositors, who, whatever they find in Scripture graciously expressed in Favour of the People of God, apply to themselves, without Limitation or Exception : Whatever is said of the Wicked and Ungodly, and all the Terrors and Judgments denounced, with a liberal Hand they bestow upon their Neighbours. After their Prayers were over, they began their Affault. The *Ierusalemites* never flinched, but sent them Showers of Arrows from the Walls, and maintained the Fight with undaunted Courage, till

¹ *Alcoran*, Chap. V. 24.

the Evening. Thus they continued fighting ten Days, and on the eleventh, *Abu Obeidah* came up with the Remainder of the Army ; he had not been there long, before he sent the Besieged the following Letter, which I have copied, not out of *Alwákidi*, but ³ the Author of the *History of the Holy Land*. Omar.
Alwákidi.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

From Abu Obeidah Ebn Aljerahh, to the chief Commanders of the People of Ælia, and the Inhabitants thereof, ⁴ Health and Happiness to every one that follows the right way, and believes in God and the Apostle. We require of you to testify, That there is but one God, and Mahomet is his Apostle, and that there shall be a Day of Judgment, when God shall raise the Dead out of their Sepulchres ; and when you have born Witness to this, it is unlawful for us either to shed your Blood, or meddle with your Substance or Children. If you refuse this, consent to pay Tribute, and be under us forthwith ; otherwise I shall bring Men against you, who love Death better than You do the drinking of Wine, or eating Hogs Flesh : Nor will I ever stir from you, if it please

³ *MSS. Arab. Pocock. Num. 362.* ⁴ *Alcoran, Chap. XX. 49.* They use it almost always when they write to Christians ; and so the King of Fez writes to our Princes of Great Britain.

Omar.
Alwakidi.

God, till I have destroyed those that fight for you, and made Slaves of your Children.

The eating ¹ Swines Flesh, and ² drinking Wine, are both forbidden in the *Alcoran*, which occasioned that Reflection of *Abu Obeidab* upon the Practice of the Christians. The former Prohibition is borrowed from the Jewish Law; and as for the latter, the Reader may see more in the ³ Life of *Mahomet*. The Besieged, never a whit daunted, held out four Months entire; in all which space, there did not one Day pass without fighting; and it being Winter time, the Saracens suffered a great deal of Hardship through the Extremity of the Weather. At last, when the Besieged had well considered the obstinacy of the Saracens; who, they had good Reason to believe, would never raise the Siege till they had taken the City, whatever time it took up, or cost them Pains; *Sophronius* the Patriarch went to the Wall, and by an Interpreter discoursed with *Abu Obeidab*, telling him, that *Jerusalem* was the *Holy City*, and whoever came into the *Holy Land* with any hostile Intent, would render himself obnoxious to the Divine Displeasure. To which *Abu Obeidab* answered, *We know that it is a noble City, and that our Prophet Mahomet went*

¹ *Alcoran*, Chap. II. 168.

² *Alcoran*, Chap. V. 92. 93.

³ Dr. Prideaux's Life of *Mahomet*, p. 106.

from

from it in ⁴ one Night to Heaven, and approached within two Bows Shot of his Lord, or nearer; and that it is the Mine of the Prophets, and their Sepulchres are in it, and we are more worthy to have it in Possession than you are; neither will we leave besieging it, till God delivers it up to us, as he hath done other Places, before it. I shall not here transcribe the Story of Mahomet's Journey to Heaven; the Reader may find a sufficient Account of it in the Learned Dr. Prideaux's ⁵ *Life of Mahomet*. At last the Patriarch consented that the City should be surrendered, upon Condition that the Inhabitants should receive the Articles of their Security and Protection from the *Caliph's* own Hands, and not by Proxy. And their insisting upon this, I take to have been the principal Motive of Omar's Coming, rather than believe a blind Story fabled by some *Arab*. Authors, of an old Prophecy kept in *Jerusalem* concerning Omar; in which his Name and Religion were specified, and his Person described, and that he was the only Man that could take *Jerusalem*: Which, however strange it may seem, is nevertheless not so absurd and ridiculous as what they tell of *Sophronius's* giving an Account of all this to *Abu Obeidah*, who thereupon sent for Omar. I rather should believe, that this

⁴ *Alcoran*, Chap. XVII. 1. and LIII. 10. ⁵ P. 53.

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Alwákidi.

idle Story of the Prophecy may be better explained by *Theophanes*, who tells us, that when the City was taken, the Patriarch said ⁶ *This is of a Truth the Abomination of Desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet standing in the Holy Place*. The Saracens hearing afterwards, that the Patriarch had confessed them to have been prophesied of, made the foregoing Story out of it. ⁷ *Jelalo'ddin Assoyúti* a celebrated *Arabick* Author, who, among other Works, has written an History of *Jerusalem*, confesses, that there is great Variety and Difference in the Accounts of the taking it: However, all agree in this, that *Omar* was there. The same *Jelalo'ddin* agrees with *Alwákidi*, where he tells us, that upon *Abu Obeidab's* writing to *Omar* to come, he advised with his Friends. *Othman*, who afterwards succeeded him in the Government, dissuaded him from going, that the *Ierusalemmites* might see themselves despised, and thought beneath his Notice; but *Ali* was of a quite different Opinion, urging that the *Muslemans* had endured great Hardship in so long a Siege, and suffered much from the Extremity of the Cold; that the Presence of the *Caliph*

⁶ Τῶτον ἰδὼν Σωφρόνιος ἔφη· τὰτ' εἰν ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὸ ἐδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημόσεως τὸ ἐκθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τῆ προφῆτε, ἐγὼς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ· Πολλοῖστε δ' ἀπερσεύοντο τὸ χριστιανὸν φύλον ἀπεδύρετο τῆς εὐσεβείας ὁ προμάρτυρ. *Theoph.* p. 281. Edit. Par.

⁷ MSS. Arab.

Huntington Numb. 510.

would

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would be a great Refreshment and Encouragement to them; adding, that the great Respect which the Christians had for *Jerusalem*, as being the Place to which they went on Pilgrimage, ought to be considered; that it ought not to be supposed that they would easily part with it, but soon be reinforced with fresh Supplies. This Advice of *Ali* being preferred to *Othman's*, the *Caliph* resolved upon his Journey; which, according to his frugal Management, required no great Expence or Equipage. When he had said his Prayers in the *Mosque*, and paid his Respects at *Mahomet's* Tomb, he substituted *Ali* in his Place, and set forwards with some Attendance; the greatest part of which, having kept him Company a little way, returned back to *Medinah*. He rode upon a red Camel, with a Couple of Sacks; in one of which he carried that sort of Provision, which the *Arabs* call *Sawík*, which is either Barly, Rice; or Wheat, sodden and unhusked; the other was full of Fruits. Before him he carried a very great Leather Bottle, (very necessary in those desert Countries to put Water in) behind him a large wooden Platter. Thus furnished and equiped, the *Caliph* travelled, and when he came to any Place where he was to rest all Night, he never went from it till he had said the Morning Prayer. After which, turning him-

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Alwákidi.

himself about to those that were with him, he said, *Praise be to God, who has strengthened us with the true Religion, and given us his Prophet, and led us out of Error, and united us (who were at Variance) in the Confession of the Truth, and given us the Victory over our Enemy, and the Possession of his Country. O ye Servants of God! Praise him for these abundant Favours; for God gives Increase to those that ask for it, and are desirous of those things which are with him; and fulfils his Grace upon those that are thankful.* Then filling his Platter with the *Sawík*, he very liberally entertained his Fellow-Travellers, who did, without Distinction, eat with him all out of the same Dish.

Whilst he was upon his Journey, there came, at one of his Stages, a Complaint before him of a Man that had marryed two Wives, that were Sisters both by Father and Mother; a thing which the old *Arabians*, so long as they continued in their Idolatry, made no scruple of, as appears from that Passage in the *Alcoran*, where it is forbidden for the time to come, and expressed after such a manner, as makes it evident to have been no uncommon Practice among them. Omar was very angry, and cited him and his two Wives to make their Appearance before him forthwith. After the Fellow had confessed that they were both his
Wives,

Wives, and so nearly related, Omar asked him what Religion he might be of, or whether he was a *Musleman*? Yes, said the Fellow. *And did you not know then*, said Omar, *that it was unlawful for you to have them, when God has said,*

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“Neither marry two Sisters any more.” The Fellow swore, that he did know that it was unlawful, neither was it unlawful. Omar swore, he lyed, and that he would make him part with one of them, or else strike his Head off. The Fellow began to grumble, and said, *That he wished he had never been of that Religion, for he could have done as well without it, and had never been a whit the better for it since he had first professed it.* Upon which Omar called him a little nearer, and gave him two Blows upon the Crown with his Stick, to teach him better Manners, and learn him to speak more reverently of *Mahometanism*; saying, *O thou Enemy of God, and of thy self, dost thou revile* ³ *Islâm; which is the Religion that God and his Angels, and Apostles, and the best of the Creation have chosen?* And threatened him severely, if he did not make a quick Dispatch, and take which of them he loved best. The Fellow was so fond of them both, that he could not tell

² *Alcoran*, Chap. IV. 27.

³ That is the Word by which they express what we call the Mahometan Religion; and signifies, *delivering a Man's self up to God.*

which

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Alwákidi.

which he'd rather part with: Upon which some of Omar's Attendants cast Lots for the two Women. The Lot falling upon one of them three times, the Man took her, and was forced to dismiss the other. Omar called him to him, and said, *Pray mind what I say to you; if any Man makes Profession of our Religion, and then leaves it, we kill him; therefore see you do not renounce Islâm. And take heed to your self, for if ever I hear that you lie with your Wife's Sister, which you have put away, you shall be stoned.*

Passing on a little further, he happened to see some poor Tributaries, whom their hard Masters, the *Saracens*, were punishing for Non-payment, by setting them in the Sun; which in that Torrid Zone is very grievous. When Omar understood the Cause of it, he asked the poor People what they had to say for themselves? Who answered, that they were not able. Upon which he said, *Let them alone, and don't compel them to more than they are able to bear; for I heard the Apostle of God say, DO NOT afflict Men; for those who afflict Men in this World, God shall punish them in Hell-Fire at the Day of Judgment.* And immediately commanded them to let them go.

Before he got to his Journey's End, he was informed of an old Man that suffered a young
one

one to go Partner with him in his Wife; so that one of them was to have her four and twenty Hours, and then the other, and so successively.

Omar having sent for them, and upon Examination found them to be Muslemans, wondered at it, and asked the old Man, if he did not know that it was forbidden by the Law of God? They both swore, that they knew no such thing. *Omar* asked the old Man, what made him consent to such a beastly thing? Who answered, that he was in Years, and his Strength failed him, and he had never a Son to look after his Business, and this young Man was very serviceable to him in watering and feeding his Camels, and he had recompensed him that way; but since it was unlawful, he promised that it should be so no more. *Omar* bid him take his Wife by the Hand, and told him, *That no body had any thing to do with her but himself: And for your part, young Man (says he) if ever I hear that you come near her again, off goes your Head.*

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Alwākidi.

Omar, having all the Way he went, set Things aright that were amiss, and distributed Justice impartially, for which he was singularly eminent among the *Saracens*, came at last into the Confines of *Syria*, and when he drew near *Jerusalem* he was met by *Abu Obeidah*, and conducted to the *Saracen* Camp with abundance

Omar.
Alwákidi.

dance of Joy. He did not reach it the same Day *Abu Obeidab* met him. In the Morning he said the usual Prayers, and if we may take my Author's Word for it, preached a good Sermon. In which, as he quoted this Text out of the *Alcoran*; ⁶ *He whom God shall direct is led in the right Way; but thou shalt not find a Friend to direct him aright whom God shall lead into Error*, A Christian Priest that sat before him stood up, and said, *God leads no Man into Error*; and repeated it: Omar said nothing to him, but bid those that stood by strike his Head off if he should say so again. The old Man understood what he said, and held his Peace whilst Omar proceeded in his Sermon.

Omar met with some of the *Saracens* richly dressed in Silks that they had taken by way of Plunder after the Battle of *Yermouk*. He spoiled all their Pride, for he caused them to be dragged along in the Dirt with their Faces downwards, and their Cloaths to be rent all to Pieces. As soon as he came within sight of the City, he cry'd out, *Allàh Acbar*: O God give us an easy Conquest. Pitching his Tent, which was made of Hair, he sat down in it upon the Ground. The Christians hearing that Omar was come, from whose Hands they were to receive their Articles, were desirous of seeing him.

⁶ *Alcoran*, Chap. XVIII. 16.

Upon which the Muslemans would have perswaded him not to expose his Person, for fear of some treacherous Design. But Omar resolutely answered, in the Words of the *Alcoran* ;
³ *SAY, There shall nothing befall us but what God hath decreed for us ; he is our Lord, and in God let all the Believers put their Trust.* Afterwards upon Parley, the Besieged resigned, and because those Articles of Agreement made by Omar with the *Ierusalymites* are, as it were, the Pattern which the *Mahometan* Princes have chiefly imitated, I shall not think it improper to give the Sense of them in this Place, as I find it in the ³ Author of the History of *Jerusalem* (or the Holy Land) which I have mentioned before.

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 Alwākidi.

The Articles were these ; “ *That the Christi-
 “ ans should build no new Churches, either in the
 “ City, or the adjacent Territory : Neither should
 “ they refuse the Muslemans Entrance into their
 “ Churches, either by Night or Day. That they
 “ should set open the Doors of them to all Passen-
 “ gers and Travellers. If any Musleman should
 “ be upon a Journey, they should be obliged to
 “ entertain him gratis the space of three Days.
 “ That they should not teach their Children the
 “ Alcoran, nor talk openly of their Religion, nor*

² *Alcoran*, Chap. IX. 51.
 Num. 362.

³ M. S. Arab. Pocock.

“ *perswade*

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Alwákidi.

“perswade any one to be of it; neither should
 “they hinder any of their Relations from becom-
 “ing Mabometans, if they had an Inclination
 “to it. That they should pay Respect to the
 “Muslemans, and rise up to them if they had a
 “mind to sit down, That they should not go like
 “the Muslemans in their Dress; nor wear such
 “Caps, Shoes nor Turbants, nor part their Hair
 “as they do, nor speak after the same manner,
 “nor be called by the same⁹ Names used by the
 “Muslemans. Neither should they ride upon Sad-
 “dles, nor bear any sort of Arms, nor use the
 “Arabick Tongue in the Inscriptions of their
 “Seals: nor sell any Wine. That they should be
 “obliged to keep to the same sort of Habit where-
 “soever they went, and always wear Girdles upon
 “their Wastes. That they should set no Crosses
 “upon their Churches, nor show their Crosses nor
 “their Books openly in the Streets of the Musle-
 “mans. That they should not ring, but only toll
 “their Bells. Nor take any Servant that had
 “once belonged to the Muslemans. Neither should
 “they overlook them in their Houses. Some say,
 “that Omar commanded the Inhabitants of Je-
 “rusalem to have the fore Parts of their Heads
 “shaven, and obliged them to ride upon their
 “Pannels sideways, and not like the Muslemans.”

⁹ Arab. Kinàon, Cognomina.

Upon these Terms the Christians had *Liberty of Conscience*, paying such Tribute as their Masters thought fit to impose upon them; and *Jerusalem*, once the Glory of the *East*, was forced to submit to a heavier Yoke than ever it had born before. For though the Number of the Slain, and the Calamities of the Besieged were greater when it was taken by the *Romans*; yet the Servitude of those that survived was nothing comparable to this, either in respect of the Circumstances or Duration. For however it might seem to be utterly ruined and destroyed by *Titus*, yet was it very much recovered before *Adrian's* Time. Now, it fell as it were, once for all, into the Hands of the most mortal Enemies of the Christian Religion, in which it has continued ever since; excepting only that Interval of near ninety Years, in which it was possessed by the Christians in the *Holy War*.

* The Christians having submitted to the Terms, *Omar* gave them the following Writing under his Hand.

In the Name of the most merciful God,

From Omar Ebno'l Alchitâb to the Inhabitants of Ælia. They shall be protected and secured both in their Lives and Fortunes, and their Churches shall neither be pulled down, nor made use of by any but themselves.

* *Elmakîn, Eutychius.*

Omar.

Immediately upon this the Gates were opened, and the *Caliph* and those that were with him went in. The Patriarch kept them Company, and the *Caliph* talked with him familiarly, and asked him Questions concerning the Antiquities of the Place. Among other Places which they visited, they went into the Temple of the *Resurrection*, and *Omar* sat down in the midst of it. When the time of Prayers was come (the *Mahometans* have five set times of Prayer in a Day) *Omar* told the Patriarch, that he had a mind to pray, and desired him to show him a Place where he might perform his Devotion. The Patriarch bad him pray where he was; but he altogether refused it. Then he brought him out from thence, and went with him into *Constantine's* Church, and laid a Matt for him; but he would not pray there. At last he went alone to the Steps which were at the East Gate of *St. Constantine's* Church, and kneeled by himself upon one of them. Having ended his Prayers, he sat down, and asked the Patriarch if he knew why he had refused to pray in the Church; The Patriarch confessed that he could not tell what should be the Reason of it. *Why then* (says *Omar*) *I will tell you. You know I promised you that none of your Churches should be taken away from you, but*

¹ Year of the *Hegjrah* 16. A. D. 637.

that

that you should possess them quietly your selves. Now if I had prayed in any one of these Churches, I should no sooner have been gone from hence, but the Muslemans would infallibly have taken it away from you. And notwithstanding all you could have alledged, they would have said, this is the Place where Omar prayed, and we will pray here too. And so you would have been turned out of your Church, contrary both to my Intention and your Expectation. But because my praying so much as upon the Steps may perhaps give some Occasion to the Muslemans to give you some Disturbance; I shall take what Care I can to prevent that. So he called for Pen, Ink and Paper, and wrote expressly, That none of the Muslemans should pray upon the Steps in any Multitudes, but one by one. That they should never meet there to go to Prayers. And that the Muëzzin, or Crier, that calls the People to Prayers (for the Mahometans never use Bells) should not stand there. This Paper he gave to the Patriarch for a Security, lest his praying upon the Steps of the Church should have set such an Example to the Muslemans as might occasion any Inconvenience to the Christians. A noble Instance of singular Fidelity and religious Observation of Promise. This Caliph did not think it enough to perform what he engaged himself, but used all possible Diligence to oblige

Omar. others to do so too. And when the unwary Patriarch had desired him to pray in the Church, not well considering what might be the Consequence; the *Caliph* well knowing how apt Men are to be superstitious in the Imitation of their Princes and great Men, especially such as they look upon to be Successors of a Prophet, made the best Provision he could, that nothing which might be pretended to be done in Imitation of him, might any way infringe the Security he had already given.

¹ There goes a Story, that the *Caliph* desired the Patriarch to assign him a Place where he might build a *Mosque* for the Celebration of the *Mahometan* Service; and that the Patriarch shewed him the Place where *Jacob's* Stone lay, which he slept upon when he saw the ² Vision. It seems the Stone was quite covered with Dirt, and the *Caliph* took up much as he could of it in his Vest, and removed it. The Muslemans perceiving what the *Caliph* did, very readily assisted him; some filling their Bucklers, some their Vests, others Baskets; that in a short time they had removed all the Rubbish and Dirt, and cleared the Stone ³.

¹ *Elmakin*, *Goliushis* Notes upon *Alferganus*, p. 137.

² *Genesis* 28. ³ *Theoph.* p. 281. His Words are these, *Ἐισελθὼν δὲ Ὁυμαρὸς εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν τριχίνοις ἐκ καμήλων ἐνδύμασιν ἡμφιοσμένῳ ἐξῆυπαμένῳ, ὑπόκρισιν τε σατανικὴν ἐνδεικνύμενῳ, τὸν ναὸν ἐξήτησεν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἰδεῖν, ὃν ἀποδύμησε Σολομὼν, προσκυντήριον αὐτὸν ποῦσαι τῆς αὐτῇ ἐλασφορίας.*

Omar leaving the Churches to the Christians, built a new Temple in the Place where *Solomon's* formerly stood, and consecrated it to the *Mahometan* Superstition. From thence he went to *Bethlehem*, and going into the Church, prayed there; and when he had done, he gave the Patriarch, under his Hand, the same Security for the Church, as he had done before at *Jerusalem*, strictly forbidding any of the *Mahometans* to pray there, unless one single Person at a time; and that no *Muëzzin* should ever call the People to Prayers there. But notwithstanding all the *Caliph's* Precaution, the *Saracens* afterwards seized the Church for their own Use; and so they did *St. Constantine's* Church at *Jerusalem*; for they took half the Porch where those Steps were which *Omar* had prayed upon, and built a Mosque there, in which they included those Steps: And had *Omar* said his Prayers in the Body of the Church, they would without all question have taken that too.

9 This same Year in which *Jerusalem* was taken, *Saëd Ebn Abi Wakkâs*, one of *Omar's* Captains, was making Havock in the Territories of *Persia*. He went to *Madayen*, formerly the Treasury and Magazine of *Cosroes*, King of *Persia*; where they found Money and rich Furni-

⁴ *Elmakîn, Hegrah, 16. A.D. 637.*

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Alwákidi.

ture of all sorts, inestimable. *Elmakîn* says, that they took there no less than three thousand Million of Ducats, besides *Cosroë's* Crown and Wardrobe, which was exceeding rich, his Cloaths being all adorned with Gold and Jewels of great Value. Then they opened the Roof of *Cosroë's* his Porch, where they found another very considerable Sum. They plundered his Armory, well stored with all sorts of Weapons. Among other things they brought to *Omar* a Piece of Silk Hangings, sixty Cubits square, all curiously wrought with Needle work. That it was of great Value, appears from the Price which *Ali* had for that Part of it which fell to his Share when *Omar* divided it; which though it was none of the best of it, yielded him twenty thousand Pieces of Silver. After this, in the same Year, the *Persians* were defeated by the *Saracens* in a great Battle near *Jaloulab*. *Yazdejerd* perceiving things grow every day worse and worse, retired to *Ferganah*, a City of *Persia*.

We must now proceed with the Conquest of *Syria*. *Omar* having taken *Jerusalem*, continued there about ten Days, to put things in Order. Here my Author tells us a Story of one *Caab*, a *Jew*, who came to him to be profelyted, and told, that his Father, who was thoroughly skill'd in the Law of *Moses*, had told him concerning *Mahomet's* being the Seal of the Prophets,

phets, and that after him all Inspiration was to cease. Among other things, *Caab* asked him what was said concerning the *Mahometan* Religion in the *Alcoran*. *Omar* quoted such Texts out of it as were suited to his Palate, as having been brought up a Jew; namely, ¹ *Abraham commanded his Sons concerning it; and so did Jacob; saying, O Children! God has made Choice of a Religion for you; 2 wherefore do not die before you be Muslemans. Again, 3 Abraham was neither a Jew nor Christian, but a Religious Musleman, and was not of the Number of those who join Partners with God. And then, 4 He that shall desire any other Religion but Islam, it shall not be accepted of him. Again, 5 Will they desire any other than God's Religion, to whom every thing in Heaven and Earth 6 submits it self? And then, 7 The Religion of Abraham your Father: He gave you the Name of Muslemans.* The Rabbi convinced with so many pregnant Texts, that the *Mahometan* Religion was no other than that of *Abraham* and the Patriarchs, repeated instantly, *La Ilaha, &c. There is but one God, and Mahomet is his Apostle.* *Omar* was very well pleased with his new Profelyte, and invited him to go along with him to *Medinah*, to visit the Prophet's Tomb; to which he con-

¹ *Alcoran*, Chap. II. 126.

² III. 96.

³ III. 60.

⁴ III. 78.

⁵ III. 77.

⁶ Arab. *Aflama*.

⁷ XXII. 77.

Omar.
Alwákidi.

sented. I have inserted this Story in the Place where I found it in my Author, because I would not willingly omit any thing that might any way contribute to the illustrating the Manners or Religion of that People concerning whom I write : Notwithstanding which, I have a strong Suspicion that this is the very same *Caab* who was profelyted in *Mahomet's* Time, above ten Years before *Omar* took *Jerusalem*, and concerning whom the Reader may see a larger Account in the ^s *Life of Mahomet*. For our Authors are not always so very accurate ; especially those who write the Histories of the Beginnings of the *Saracenic*al Empire.

Now *Omar* thought of returning to *Medinah*, having first disposed his Affairs after the following manner. *Syria* he divided into two Parts ; and committed all that lies between *Haurán* and *Aleppo* to *Abu Obeidah*, with Orders to make War upon it till he conquered it. *Yezid Ebn Abi Sofyan* took the Charge of all *Palestine* and the *Sea-shore*. *Amrou Ebno'l Aás* was sent to invade *Ægypt*, no inconsiderable Part of the Emperor's Dominions, which now mouldered away continually. The *Saracens* at *Medinah* had almost given *Omar* over ; and began to conclude that he would never stir from *Jerusalem*, considering the Richness of the Country, and

^s P. 99.

the Sweetness of the Air ; but especially it being the Country of the Prophets, and the Holy Land, and the Place where we must all be summoned together at the Resurrection. At last he came, so much the more welcome, by how much he was the less expected. *Abu Obeidah* in the mean time received *Kinnisrîn* and *Albadir* ; the Inhabitants paying down five thousand Ounces of Gold, and as many of Silver, two thousand Suits of Cloaths of several sorts of Silk, and five hundred Asses Loads of Figs and Olives. *Yezid* marched against *Cæsarea* in vain, that Place being too well fortified to be taken by his little Army, especially since it had been reinforced by the Emperor, who had sent Store of all sorts of Provision by Sea, and a Recruit of two thousand Men. The Inhabitants of *Aleppo* were much concerned at the Loss of *Kinnisrîn* and *Albadir*, knowing very well that it would not be long before it would come to their turn, to experience themselves what they had known till then only by Report. They had two Governours, Brothers, who dwelt in the Castle, (the strongest in all *Syria*) which was not then encompassed by the Town, but stood out at a little Distance by it self. The Name of one of these Brethren, if my Author mistakes not, was *Youkinna* ; the other *John*. Their Father held of the Emperor *Heraclius* all the Territory between *Aleppo* and

Eu-

Omar.
Alwákidi.

Euphrates, after whose Decease his Son *Youkinna* managed the Affairs; *John* not troubling himself with secular Employments, did not meddle with the Government, but led a Monkish Life; spending his Time in Retirement, Reading, and Deeds of Charity. He would have perswaded his Brother to have secured himself, by compounding with the *Arabs* for a good round Sum of Money; who told him, that he talked like a Monk, and did not understand what belonged to a Soldier. That he had Wealth and Warlike Preparation enough, and was resolved to make the best Opposition he could. Accordingly the next Day he called his Men together, among which there were several Christian *Arabs*, and having armed them, and for their Encouragement distributed some Money among them, told them, that he was fully purposed to act offensively, and give the *Saracens* Battle, if possible, before they should come too near *Aleppo*. That the *Saracen* Army was weakened by their Division, some of them being gone to *Cæsarea*, others to *Damascus*, and some into *Ægypt*. Thus encouraging his Men, he marched forwards with twelve thousand. *Abu Obeidab* had sent before him *Caab Ebn Damarab* with one thousand Men, but with exprefs Orders not to fight till he had received Information of the Strength of the Enemy. *Youkinna's* Spies found *Caab* and

his

his Men resting themselves, and watering their Horses, secure, and free from Apprehensions of Danger : Upon which he lays an Ambuscade, and falls upon them with the rest of his Men. There was a sharp Engagement, in which the Saracens had the better of it at first ; but the Ambuscade breaking in upon them, they were in great Danger of being overpowered with Multitude ; one hundred and seventy of them were killed upon the Spot, and most of the rest grievously wounded, that they were upon the very Brink of Despair, and cried out, *Ya Mahommed ! Ya Mahommed ! O Mahomet ! O Mahomet !* However, with much ado they made Shift to hold up till Night parted them, earnestly expecting the Coming of *Abu Obeidah*.

Omar.
Alwákidi.

In the mean time, whilst *Youkinna* was gone out with his Forces to engage the *Saracens*, the wealthy and trading People of *Aleppo*, knowing very well how hard it would go with them if they should stand it out obstinately to the last, and be taken by Storm, upon Debate, resolved to go and article with *Abu Obeidah*, that, let *Youkinna's* Success be what it would, they might be secure. Thirty of the chief of them went to him, being then at *Kinnisrîn*, and just upon his March ; and as soon as they came near, cried out *Legoun, Legoun, Abu Obeidah* understood that it meant *Quarter*, and had formerly

Omar.
Alwákidi.

merly written to the Captains in *Syria*, that if any of them heard any Man use that Word, they should not be hasty to kill him, otherwise they must answer it at the Day of Judgement, and the *Caliph* would be clear. They were brought before *Abu Obeidah*, and perceiving that there were Fires in the Camp, and some were saying their Prayers, others reading the *Alcoran*, and all very easy and secure, one of them said, *They have most certainly gotten the Victory*. An Interpreter that stood by told *Abu Obeidah*, who till then knew nothing of the Battle. Upon Examination they told him, that they were Merchants, and the chief Traders of *Aleppo*, and were come to make Articles for themselves; that *Youkinna* was a Tyrant; that he marched out against the Saracens Yesterday. *Abu Obeidah* hearing this, gave *Caab Ebn Damarah* over for lost, which made him at first the more unwilling to article with the *Aleppians*; but upon their earnest and repeated Intreaty, and being always naturally inclined to Compassion, and withal considering that these Persons (for there were several belonging to the neighbouring Villages that had joined themselves with them) might be serviceable in helping the Army to Provision and Provender, he cried out. *God loves those that are inclined*

¹ *Alcoran*, Chap. II. 190. III. 129, 141. V. 16.

to do good; and turning himself to the Saracens, he represented the Advantages which might accrue to them, by receiving these People into their Protection: But one that was present told him, that the Town was very near the Castle, and he did not believe they were in earnest, or ought to be trusted; for, says he, they come to impose upon us, and no question but they have trappann'd *Caab*. To whom *Abu Obeidah* answered, *Entertain, Man, a better Opinion of God, who will not deceive us, nor give them the Dominion over us*. Then he propos'd to them the same Conditions which they of *Kinnisrîn* and *Hader* had agreed to; but they desired to be excus'd, alledging, that through the Oppression and Tyranny of *Youkinna*, their City of *Aleppo* was nothing near so well peopled, nor half so rich as *Kinnisrîn*; but if he pleas'd to accept of half so much, they would endeavour to raise it: Which was accepted, upon Condition, that they should take Care to furnish the Camp with all things necessary, and give all possible Intelligence that might be of any Use to the Muslemans, and also hinder *Youkinna* from returning to the Castle. They undertook all but the last Article, which they said was altogether out of their Power. Then he swore them every one, (such an Oath as they had been us'd to) and bad them take

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Omar.
Alwākidi.

Care how they broke it, for if they did, there would be no Quarter. When they were going away, he profered them Guard to see them safe home; but they told him, they would, if he pleased, save him that Trouble, since they could go home the same way they came, without any fear of *Youkínna*.

As they were going back, they chanced to meet with one of *Youkínna*'s Officers, who enquiring, what News? They gave him an Account of the whole Transaction. Upon this he goes with all possible speed to his Master; who was with Impatience expecting the Morning, that he might dispatch *Caab* and his Men, whom the coming of the Night had preserved: But hearing this News, he began to fear lest there should be any Attempt made upon the Castle, and thought it safest to make the best of his way homeward. In the Morning the Saracens were surpris'd to see no Enemy, and wondered what was the matter with them. *Caab* would have pursued them, but none of his Men had any Inclination to go with him; so they rested themselves, and in a little time *Caled* and *Abu Obeidah* came up with the rest of the Army. Then they went about burying their Martyrs, as they call them, and put them into the Ground all bloody as they were, with their Cloaths, Arms, and all together. *Abu Obe-*

Obeidab said, that he had heard the Apostle of God say, that *The Martyrs and those who are killed in the Service of God, shall be raised at the Day of Judgement with their Blood upon their Throats, which shall have the Colour of Blood, and the Smell of Musk, and they shall be led directly into Paradise, without being called to an Account.*

Omar.
Alwákidi.

As soon as they were buried, *Abu Obeidab* reminded *Caled* of the Obligation they were under to protect the *Aleppians*, now their Confederates, who were likely to be exposed to the utmost Outrage and Cruelty of *Youkinna*, who, in all probability, would severely resent their Desertion. They Marched as fast as they could, and when they drew near *Aleppo*, found that they were not at all deceived in what they feared. *Youkinna* had drawn up his Soldiers with a Design to fall upon the Townsmen, and threatened them with present Death, unless they would break their Covenant with the *Arabs*, and go out with him to fight them, and bring out to him the Person that was the first Contriver and Proposer of it. At last he fell upon them in good earnest, and killed about three hundred of them. His Brother *John*, who was in the Castle, hearing a piteous Outcry and Lamentation, came down from the Castle, and intreated his Brother to spare the People,

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People, representing to him, that *Jesus Christ* had commanded us not to contend with our Enemies, much less with those of our own Religion. *Youkinna* told him, that they had agreed with the *Arabs*, and assisted them. Which *John* excused, telling him, *That what they did was only for their own Security, because they were no fighting Men.* In short, he took their part so long, till he provoked his Brother to that degree, that he charged him with being the chief Contriver and Manager of the whole Business; and at last, in a great Passion, cut his Head off: But our Author says, that he first made Profession of the *Mahometan* Religion, and went forthwith to Paradise. But very likely the Reason of his saying so, is, because he was a sober Man, and of a good Character, and he grudged that any such should die a Christian, and therefore made a *Mahometan* of him, envying the Christians the Credit of having a good Man among them. Whilst he was murdering the unhappy *Aleppians*, *Caled*, (better late than never) came to their Relief. Which *Youkinna* perceiving, retired with a considerable Number of Soldiers into the Castle. The *Saracens* killed that Day three thousand of his Men: However he prepared for a Siege, and planted Engines upon the Castle-Walls. The *Aleppians* brought out forty Prisoners, and de-

delivered them to *Abu Obeidah*, who bad his Interpreter ask them, why they had made Prisoners of them? They answered, *Because they belonged to Youkinna, and having fled to them, they durst not conceal them, not being included in the Articles.* *Abu Obeidah* commended their Fidelity, and told them, *They should find the Benefit of it;* and for their further Encouragement, added, *That what Plunder soever they got from any of the Christians should be their own, as a Reward of their good Service.* Seven of these Prisoners turned *Mahometans*; the rest were beheaded.

Abu Obeidah next, in a Council of War, deliberated what Measures were most proper to be taken. Some were of Opinion, that it would be the best way to besiege the Castle with some part of the Army, and let the rest be sent out to forage. *Caled* would not hear of it, but was for having the Castle attacked with their whole Force at once; that, if possible, it might be taken before fresh Supplies should come from the *Grecian* Emperor. This concluded upon, they made a most vigorous Assault, and had as hard a Battle as any in all the Wars of *Syria*. The Besieged made a noble Defence, and threw Stones from the Walls in such Plenty, that a great many of the *Saracens* were killed, and a great many more maimed.

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Alwákidi.

Youkinna, encouraged with his Success, designed to act offensively, and take all Advantages. The *Saracens*, looked upon all the Country as their own, and knowing that there was no Army of the Enemy near them, nor fearing any thing from the Besieged, kept Guard negligently. *Youkinna*, in the dead of the Night, sent out a Party, who, as soon as the Fires were out in the Camp, fell upon the *Saracens*, and having killed about sixty, carried off fifty Prisoners. *Caled* pursued and cut off about an hundred of them; the rest escaped to the Castle with the Prisoners, who, by the Command of *Youkinna*, were the next Day beheaded in the sight of the *Saracen* Army. *Youkinna* upon this ventured once more to send out another Party, having received Information from one of his Spies (most of which were Christian *Arabs*) that some of the Muslemans were gone out to forage. They fell upon the Muslemans, killed a hundred and thirty of them, and seized all their Camels, Mules and Horses, which having killed or hamstringed, they retired into the Mountains, in hopes of lying hid that Day, and returning to the Castle in the Silence of the Night. In the mean time, some that had escaped brought the News to *Abu Obeidah*, who sends *Caled* and *Derar* to pursue them. Coming to the Place where the Fight had

been,

been, they found their Men and Camels dead, and the Country People making great Lamentation, for they were afraid lest the *Saracens* should suspect them of Treachery, and revenge the Loss of their Men upon them. Whereupon they fell down before *Caled*, and told him they were altogether innocent, and had not any way, either directly or indirectly, been instrumental in it; but that it was done by a Party of Horse that sallied from the Castle. *Caled* having sworn them that they did not know any thing more, and taking some of them for Guides, beset the only Passage by which the Besieged could return to the Castle. When about a fourth Part of the Night was past, they perceived them coming, and falling upon them, took three hundred Prisoners, and killed the rest. The Prisoners would have redeemed themselves, but they were all beheaded the next Morning before the Castle.

The *Saracens* laid a close Siege, but perceiving that they got no Advantage, *Abu Obeidab* removed the Camp about a Miles Distance from the Castle; hoping by this means to tempt the Besieged to Security and Negligence in their Watch, which might at some time afford him an Opportunity of taking the Castle by Surprise. But all would not do; for *Youkínna* kept a very strict Watch, and suffered not a

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Man to stir out. *Abu Obeidah* thought that there might be some Christian Spies in the Army; whereupon he and *Caled* walked about the Camp, to see if they could pick up any suspicious Persons. *Caled* at last observed a Man sitting with a Vest before him, which he turned first on the one side, and then on the other. *Caled* stepped to him, and asked him, what Tribe he was off? The Fellow designed to have named another Tribe, if he had not been surprised; but having the Question put to him on a sudden, the Word slipped out of his Mouth, and he answered, of *Gussán*. *Sayest thou so*, (answered *Caled*) *thou Enemy of God, thou art a Christian Arab, and a Spy*, and seized him. The Fellow said, that he was not, but a Musleman. *Caled* carried him to *Abu Obeidah*, who bad him examine him in the *Alcoran*, and make him say his Prayers. But the poor Fellow had not one Word to say for himself, being altogether ignorant of those things: Upon which, without much arguing, he confessed himself a Spy, and that he was not alone, but there were three of them in all, two of which were returned to the Castle. *Abu Obeidah* bad him take his Choice, either of *Mahometanism* or Death, and he readily embraced the former.

The Siege continued four Months, and some say, five. In the mean time *Omar* was very much

much concerned, having heard nothing from the Camp in *Syria*. He writes to *Abu Obeidah*, to let him know how tender he was over the *Muslemans*, and what a great Grief it was to him to hear no News of them in so long a time. *Abu Obeidah* answered, that *Kinnisrîn*, *Hader* and *Aleppo* were surrendered to him, only the Castle of *Aleppo* held out, and that they had lost a considerable Number of Men before it. That he had some Thoughts of raising the Siege, and passing forwards into that Part of the Country which lies between *Aleppo* and *Antioch*; but only he stayed for his Answer. About the time that *Abu Obeidah*'s Messengers got to *Medinah*, there came out of the several Tribes of the *Arabs* a considerable Number of Men, who profered their Service to the *Caliph*. *Omar* ordered seventy Camels to help their Foot, and dispatched them into *Syria*, with a Letter to *Abu Obeidah*; in which he acquainted him, *That he was variously affected, according to the different Success they had had; but charged them by no means to raise the Siege of the Castle, for that would make them look little, and encourage their Enemies to fall upon them on all sides. Wherefore, adds he, continue besieging it, till God shall determine the Event, and forage with your Horse round about the Country.*

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Among those fresh Supplies which Omar sent last to the *Saracen* Camp, there was a very remarkable Man, whose Name was *Dames*, of a Gigantick Size, and an admirable Soldier. When he had been in the Camp forty seven Days, and all the Force and Cunning of the *Saracens* could do nothing to the Castle, he desired *Abu Obeidah* to let him have the Command of thirty Men, and he would try his best. *Caled* had heard much of the Man, and told *Abu Obeidah* a long Story of a wonderful Performance of this *Dames* in *Arabia*; that he was looked upon as a very proper Person for such an Undertaking. *Abu Obeidah* bad those who were to go with him not despise their Commander, because of the Meanness of his Condition, he being a Slave; and swore, that if the Care of the whole Army did not lye upon him, he would be the first Man that should go under him upon such an Enterprize. To which they answered with entire Submission and profound Respect. *Dames*, who lay hid at no great Distance, went out several times, and brought in with him five or six *Greeks*, but never a Man of them understood one Word of Arabick, which made him angry, and say, *God curse these Dogs! What a strange barbarous Language they use.*

At last he went again, and there fell a Man down from the Wall; him he took, and by the Help

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Help of a Christian *Arab*, which he took afterwards, examined him; who gave him an Account, that immediately upon the Departure of the *Saracens*, *Youkinna* began to abuse the Townsmen that had agreed with the *Arabs*, and exact large Sums of Money of them; that he was one of them, and had endeavoured to make his Escape from the Oppression and Tyranny of *Youkinna*, by leaping down from the Wall. They let him go, as being under their Protection by virtue of the Articles made between *Abu Obeidah* and the *Aleppians*; but beheaded all the rest.

Dames then takes out of a Knap sack a Goats Skin; with this he covers his Back and Shoulders, and takes a dry Crust in his Hand, creeping upon all Fours as near to the Castle as he could; and if he heard any Noise, or suspected any Person's being near, to prevent being discovered, he made such a Noise with his Crust, as a Dog makes that is gnawing a Bone. The rest of his Company came after, sometimes sculking and creeping along, at other times walking. He had sent two of his Men to *Abu Obeidah*, to send him some Horse about Sunrise. When they came to the Castle, they found it in a manner inaccessible. However *Dames* was resolved to leave nothing unattempted. Having found a Place where he thought it

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might be easiest getting up, he sits down upon the Ground, and orders another to sit upon his Shoulders; and so till seven of them were gotten up, and sat one upon the others Shoulders, all of them leaning against the Wall with all their strength. Then he that was uppermost of all stood upright upon the Shoulders of the second. The second arose next, and so on all in order, till at last *Dames* himself stood up, who bore the Weight of all the rest upon his Shoulders, unless they could relieve him, by bearing any part of their Weight against the Wall. By this time he that was uppermost could make a shift to reach the Top of the Wall. They all said, *O Apostle of God help us and deliver us!* When he was got up, he found a Watchman drunk and asleep. He seized him Hand and Foot, and threw him down among the *Saracens*, who immediately cut him to Pieces. Two other Watchmen, whom he found in the same Condition, he stabbed with his Dagger, and threw down from the Wall. Then he let down his Turbant, and drew up the second; they two the third, till at last they drew up *Dames* too, who enjoined them Silence, till he should bring them further Information. He went and peeped in, where he found *Youkinnna*, richly dressed, sitting upon a Tapestry of Scarlet Silk flowered with Gold, and a large Com-

pany

pany with him eating and drinking, and very merry. He came and told his Men, that he did not think it adviseable to fall upon them then, because of the great Inequality of their Numbers, but had rather take the Advantage of them about Break of Day; at which time there was no fear but there would come some Help from the Army. In the mean time he went alone, and privately stabbing the Porters, and setting open the Gates, came back to his Men, and bad them hasten to take Possession of the Gates. This was not done so secretly, but they were at last taken notice of, and the Castle alarmed. There was no Hopes of escaping, but every one of them expected to perish. It was now towards Morning; *Dames* behaved himself bravely, but overpowered with Multitude, they were not able to hold up, when *Caled* came to their Relief. As soon as the Besieged perceived the *Saracens* rushing in upon them, they threw down their Arms, and cried *Quarter!* *Abu Obeidab* was not far behind with the rest of the Army. Having taken the Castle, and proposed *Mahometanism* to the Christians, the first that embraced it was *Youkinnu*, and some of the chief Men with him, who immediately had their Wives and Children, and all their Wealth restored to them. *Abu Obeidab* set the old and impotent People at Liberty, and
having

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having taken out a Fifth part of the Spoil of the Castle, (which was of great Value) divided the rest among the Muslemans. *Dames* was talked of, and admired by all, and *Abu Obeidah* paid him the Respect of making the Army continue in that Place, till he and his Men were perfectly cured of their Wounds.

Having taken the Castle of *Aleppo*, he had Thoughts of marching next to *Antioch*, then the Seat of the *Grecian* Emperor. But *Youkinnah*, the late Governour of the Castle of *Aleppo*, with the changing of his Religion, being become an utter Enemy to the Christian Interest, perswaded him to defer his March to *Antioch*, till they had first taken the Castle of *Aazáz*, held by *Theodorus* his Cousin-German; a Place of Importance, and which, if not taken, would prove a great Nufance to the *Saracens* on that side the Country; and profered his Service. The way that he proposed, was to take with him an hundred *Saracens*, dressed in the *Grecian* Habit, and with him to ride to *Aazáz*. These hundred were to be pursued at a little Interval by a thousand other *Saracens* in their proper Habit. He said, *That he did not at all question a kind Reception at the Hands of his Kinsman Theodorus*. Whom he was to tell, *That he had only feigned himself a Mahometan, till he could find an Opportunity of escaping;*
that

that he was pursued by the Saracens, &c. If they were received, of which there was no doubt, they would in the Night fall upon the Inhabitants; and those other, who pretended to pursue them, and should be ordered to stay at a Village called *Morab*, not far distant from *Aazâz*, should come to their Assistance. *Abu Obeidab* asked *Caled* what he thought of it, who approved of the Stratagem, provided they could be well assured of *Youkinna*'s Sincerity in the Execution of it. *Youkinna* used a great many very earnest Expressions to satisfy them of his Integrity; and after *Abu Obeidab* had, in a long Discourse, set before him the Danger of being treacherous on the one hand; and on the other, the Benefits that would accrue to him by faithfully serving the *Saracens*; they resolved to venture him, and chose ten a Piece out of ten several Tribes of the *Arabs*; each ten being commanded by a *Decurion*, and all of them committed to *Youkinna*. When they were gone about a League, *Abu Obeidab* sent after them a thousand Men, under *Malec Alâshtari*, with Order to lie still by way of Ambush, when they came near to *Aazâz*, till Night. They found the Village void of Inhabitants, which the Terror of the *Saracens* had scared further up into the Country. Whilst *Malec* was at that Village, he intercepted a Christian

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Christian Arab, who upon Examination told him, *That he and his Men must look to themselves, for all their Design was discovered: That there was a Spy in the Camp, who had heard all Youkinna's Contrivance, and given the Governour of Aazâz secret Intelligence of it, by a Letter tied under the Wing of a tame Pigeon (a Practice not uncommon in these Parts.) Upon which he (meaning himself) had been sent to Lucas, Governour of Arrawendân, to desire his Assistance. That he was coming, and could not be far off with five hundred Horse. Youkinna in the mean time coming to Aazâz, found the Town and Castle in a Posture of Defence, and his Cousin Theodorus, the Governour, at the Head of three thousand Greeks, and ten thousand Christian Arabs, besides others that came out of the Villages. Theodorus made up to Youkinna, and alighting from his Horse, made profound Reverence, as if he would have kissed Youkinna's Stirrup. In the mean time, he sily cut his Girth, and with one Push threw him flat on his Face upon the Ground. Then he and all his Men were immediately taken Prisoners. Theodorus spit in his Face, and reproached him with his apostatizing from the Christian Religion; threatening Death to all his Arabs, and to send him to answer for himself before his Master the Grecian Emperor. All*
this

this while *Theodorus* knew nothing of *Malec's* being so near; his Spy having only informed him of *Youkinna's* intended Treachery, and not one Word of *Malec's* feigned Pursuit. The Prefect of *Arrawendân* came in the Night, according as he had promised *Theodorus*, with his five hundred Men, and were all intercepted by *Malec*, who had two to their one. Having made Prisoners of them, they disguised themselves in their Cloaths, and took the Christian Colours in their Hands. Then *Malec* asked the Spy to turn *Mahometan*; which he did. He had been one before, at the same time when *Jabalab Ebno'l Ayham* made Profession of that Superstition; but *Jabalab* thinking himself affronted by *Omar*, and revolting, those Christian *Arabs* that depended upon him, went off along with him; among which Number, this Spy taken by *Malec* at *Morab*, was one. He told *Malec*, that he had heard that *Mahomet* had said, *That whosoever changed his Religion should be killed*. *Malec* said it was true, but God had said, *Illa man tâba Waamâna*; *Except he that repents and believes*; adding, That the Prophet himself had accepted of *Wahsky's* Repentance, notwithstanding he had killed his Uncle *Hamzah*. *Thârik Algassâni* (that was the Spy's Name) hearing this, repeated the *La Ilaha*, &c. and *Malec* said, *May God accept thy Repentance, and strengthen*

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strengthen thy Faith, This done, he bad him go and tell the Governour of *Aazâz*, that the Governour of *Arrawendân* was coming to his Assistance; which he undertook, and, attended only by one Companion, went till he came near the Walls, where they heard a very great Noise of Shouting and Trumpets, which was occasioned after this manner.

Theodorus, Governour of *Aazâz*, had a Son, whose Name was *Leon*; whom he used to send, now and then, for a Month or two, to be with his Uncle *Youkinna* at *Aleppo*-Castle. There he fell in Love with his Uncle's Daughter, a very beautiful Lady. Returning back, he acquaints his Mother with his Passion; who, very tenderly, was willing to contribute any thing that might be a means of procuring the proper Remedy. His Father *Theodorus* had put these Prisoners, *Youkinna* and his hundred disguised Saracens into *Leon's* Appartment. He, glad of this Opportunity of ingratiating himself with his Uncle, came and told him, that he had a Mind to release him and his Friends. *Youkinna* told him, that if he had any Inclination to turn *Mahometan*, he ought not to do it upon any Prospect of worldly Advantage. To which the young Villain, fired with Lust, and resolved upon the Match, answered, *That his Family and Relations were dear to him; but the Faith was dearer.*

dearer. In short, he set them all at Liberty, gave them their Arms, and bad them go in the Name of God, whilst he went and killed his Father, whom he was sure to find drunk and asleep. Immediately the *Saracens*, now enlarged, fall upon the *Greeks*, who made a stout Resistance. During which time the Spies went back to *Malec*, to acquaint him how things stood, who rode on a-pace, and came time enough to relieve their Friends, and take the Castle. They gave great Thanks to *Youkinna*, who bad them *thank God, and this young Man*; meaning his Kinsman *Leon*, and told them all the Story: To which *Malec* answered, *When God will have a Thing done, he prepares the Causes of it*. Then he asked, who killed *Theodorus*? *Leon* answered, *My elder Brother Luke*. *Malec* wondered, and asked him, how that came about, since such a Thing was scarce ever heard of among the *Greeks*, that a Child should murder his own Father. *Luke*, it seems, told them, *That it was out of Love to them, their Prophet and Religion. That they had a Priest who used to bring them up, who had told him long since of Mahomet; and that the Saracens should most certainly conquer the Country; and that they had several Prophecies relating to it; and much to that purpose: Wherefore he was glad of this Opportunity of becoming one of them;*
and

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and had designed to have set his Uncle Youkínna and the Prisoners at Liberty, if his Brother Leon had not prevented him. Hopeful Youths! who had prevented each other in a masterly Piece of Villany; the one in murdering his Father; the other, in setting at Liberty his most mortal Enemies, and betraying all his Friends! *Malec* gave him his Blessing, and having set *Saïd Ebn Amer* over the Castle, with that hundred Men that came along with *Youkínna*, marched with the Spoils to *Aleppo*. There were in the Castle of *Aazáz*, when the Muslemans took it, one thousand young Men, *Greeks*, two hundred forty-five old Men and Monks, one thousand young Women and Girls, and one hundred and eighty old Women.

Just as *Malec* was upon his March, the *Saracens* upon the Castle-Wall gave such a shout, as alarmed all the rest, and gave them notice, that they saw a great Dust not far off. When they came near, it appeared that they were only one thousand *Saracens*, which *Abu Obeidab* had sent under the Command of *Alphadl Bno'l Abbás*, to plunder round about *Menbigz* (formerly *Hierapolis*) and the adjacent Villages, which they had done, and brought off the Spoil. *Malec* and *Alphadl* marched together; but *Youkínna* having had such bad Success, could not be persuaded to go along with them, being resolved
not

not to appear at the Camp, nor show himself to the Army, till he had by some signal Service made amends for his Miscarriage, and retrieved his Credit; but chose rather to go to *Antioch*. And though *Alphadl* endeavoured to convince him that he was in no Fault, neither ought to be concerned for it, and proved it by a Text of the *Alcoran*; yet he could not be satisfied nor reconciled to himself. Among *Alphadl*'s Men there were two hundred *Renegado*'s, who had, as well as their Master *Youkánna*, renounced their Christianity, and entered into the Service of the *Saracens*, and had their Families and Effects in the Castle of *Aleppo*: These seemed to him to be the most proper Instruments to work withall. With these he marches towards *Antioch*. After the first Watch of the Night was past, he took four of his Relations, and commanded the rest to keep the direct high Road to *Antioch*, used by the *Caravans*, and to pretend that they fled from before the *Saracens*; telling them, *That they should see him at Antioch, if it pleased God*. He with his Friends going another way, was examined by some of the Emperor's Men, who no sooner understood that he was the late Governour of *Aleppo*, but they sent him with a Guard of Horse to *Antioch*. *Heraclius* wept at the sight of him, and told him, *That he was informed he had changed his*

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Religion. To which he answered, *That what he had done was only in order to reserve himself for his Majesty's further Service : That he had taken this Opportunity of flying to him from Aazâz : That the vigorous Defence he had made at Aleppo, was a sufficient Testimony of his Zeal for his Religion and his Fidelity to his Majesty.* The Emperor received the Apostate with great Tenderness and Respect, and the greatest part of the Court were inclined to entertain a charitable Opinion of him. Nay, so favourably did the Emperor judge of him, that he not only made him Commander over those two hundred which belonged to him, when they came to *Antioch*; but when his youngest Daughter, who was then in another Place, had sent to her Father, the Emperor, for a Guard to conduct her safe to *Antioch*, *Youkinna* was entrusted with this Charge, and had under him for this purpose two thousand two hundred Men. Whilst they were upon this Expedition, as he was in his Return, about Midnight, the *Greek* Horses pricked up their Ears, and began to neigh, and some of his advanced Guards brought him Intelligence of a Party of Saracens in a very negligent Posture, most of them being asleep, and their Horses feeding. *Youkinna* seemingly encouraged his Men; but, that he might do the Saracens what secret Service he could, commanded them not

to

to kill but take them Prisoners, that they might afterwards serve to exchange for the Christians. When they came a little nearer, they found themselves mistaken; for those which they took to be *Mahometans*, proved to be one thousand Christian *Arabs*, under the Command of *Häim*, Son of *Jabalab Ebno'l Ayham*, who had surprized *Derar*, and taken him Prisoner, and with him two hundred Saracens, sent out by *Abu Obeidah*, to forage in the Northern Parts of *Syria*. Upon which *Youkinna* alights from his Horse, and pays his Respects to *Häim*, hypocritically congratulating his good Success. *Abu Obeidah* now resolved, pursuant to the *Caliph's* Command, to march without delay to *Antioch*. The Emperor in the mean time was acquainted with the Approach of his Daughter, and *Häim's* good Success, which caused great Rejoycing in *Antioch*. The Prisoners were brought into the Emperor's Presence, and being commanded to fall down in a Posture of Adoration, they took no notice of those that spoke to them, nor looked that way, nor made any Answer. At last being urged to it, *Derar* answered, *That they did not think Adoration was due to any Creature; besides our Prophet has forbidden us to pay it.* The Emperor asked several Questions concerning their Prophet, and they beckoned to *Kais Ebn Amer*, an old Man, and thoroughly ac-

quainted

Omar.
Alwákidi.

quainted with those Matters, to answer him. Among other Questions, the Emperor asked him, after what manner Inspiration used to come upon their Prophet, at his first setting forth? *Kais* told him, that *Mahomet* himself having been formerly asked that Question by an Inhabitant of *Meccab*, answered, *That sometimes it used to be like the Sound of a Bell, but stronger and sharper; sometimes an Angel appeared to me in human Shape, and discoursed with me, and I committed to Memory what he said. Ayesha said, that once the Spirit of Prophecy descended upon him on a very cold Day, and when it was gone off from him, his Forehead ran down with Sweat. The first Message he received was in a Dream; and whenever he saw a Vision, it appeared to him like the breaking forth of the Morning-Brightness. Then he shut himself up in a close Place alone, where he continued till the TRUTH came to him. An Angel came to him, being thus shut up, and said, Read. To which he answered, I cannot read. Then the Angel repeated it, and having instructed him in Things to come, sent him forth, and said to him, ^s Read in the Name of thy Lord who created, &c. With which the Apostle of God (Mahomet) returned to his Place,*

^s *Alcoran*, Chap. XCVI. §. 1. According to the Order of the Copies now in use; though the Mahometans take it for the first Chapter of the whole *Alcoran*.

with

with his Flesh trembling. Then he went into the House to Chadijah, and said, Zammilou'ni, Zammilou'ni, Wrap me up, wrap me up. Upon which they wrapped him up in Blankets, till he came to himself, and his Fear was gone off: After which he gave an Account of the whole Matter to Chadijah, after this manner.

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Alwákidi.

As I was walking (said he) I heard a Voice from Heaven; and lifting up my Eyes, I saw the same Angel which came to me before, sitting upon a Throne between Heaven and Earth. Being afraid of him, I went home, and said, Zammilou'ni, Dattbirou'bi, wrap me up in Blankets and Matts. And at that time God sent down to me that Chapter which begins with these Words, ¹ O thou that art wrapped in Blankets: And part of that which begins with these Words, ² O thou that art wrapped in Matts, to these Words, And flee from the Punishment; which is the fifth Verse of that Chapter.

The Byzantine Historians, and those other Writers who have followed them blindfold in their Account of Mahomet, will needs have it, that Mahomet was troubled with the Falling-Sickness: And ³ Hottinger takes his being wrapped up in Matts and Blankets for an undeniable Proof of it. As for the Byzantines, their

¹ It is the LXXIII. of the Alcoran.

Chap. LXXIV.

² Alcoran,

³ Historia Orientalis, Lib. I. Cap.

2. p. 10, 11.

Omar.
Alwākidi.

Authority in this Matter is of no great weight, especially considering they always make it their Business to represent *Mahomet* as full of all manner of Imperfections, both of Body and Mind as possible; as if the Christian Religion was best served by perverting of History. As to his being wrapped up in Blankets, there might be many Occasions of that besides the Falling-Sickness; and his being troubled with that Disease having no Foundation in any *Arabick* Historian, it ought, till it be better made appear, to be rejected among the rest of those idle Stories which have been told of *Mahomet* by the Christians.

To return to our History. The Emperor afterwards asked him, what he had seen of *Mahomet's* Miracles. *Kais* told him, that being once upon a Journey with him, there came an *Arabian* up to them, whom *Mahomet* asked, if he would testify, that there was but *one God*, and that he was his Prophet. The *Arabian* asked him, what Witness he had that what he said was true? To which *Mahomet* answered, *This Tree*: And calling the Tree to him, it came upright, plowing the Ground up with its Roots. *Mahomet* bad it bear Witness: Which it did; saying three times, *Thou art the Apostle of God*. After which it returned, and stood in its Place as before. *Heraclius* said, He had heard, that it was

a part of their Religion to believe, that if any of them did any Good, it should be returned to them ten-fold : If evil, only once. *Kais* told him, that it was true, and quoted this Text out of the *Alcoran* ; ³ *He that does Good shall receive ten times so much ; but he that does Evil, shall receive only so much.* The Emperor asked him, if their Prophet was not called the *Witness*. To which *Kais* answered, That he was the *Witness* in this World, and the *Witness* against Men in the World to come, because God says, ⁴ *O Prophet ! we have sent thee a Witness. and a Preacher of good News, and a Warner.* The Emperor asked him concerning *Mahomet's* Nights Journey to Heaven, and his discoursing there with the most High : Which *Kais* affirmed to be true, and proved it from the first Verse of the seventeenth Chapter of the *Alcoran*. Then the Emperor asked him concerning their fasting in the Month *Ramadan* ; in which, *Mahomet* affirmed, that the *Alcoran* came down from Heaven ; which *Kais* acknowledged. A Bishop who was present at this Conference, speaking something to the Disparagement of *Mahomet*, provoked *Derar Ebnol Azwâr* (one of the Prisoners) to such a degree, that he gave him the Lye, and reviled him in a most reproachful

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Alwákidi.

³ Chap. VI. 161. XL. 43. ⁴ *Alcoran*, Chap. XLVIII. 8. & XXXIII. 44.

Omar.
Alwákidi.

Language, affirming that *Mahomet* was a Prophet, but the Veil of Infidelity hindered them from the Knowledge of him. Upon which some of the Christians drew their Swords, to chastize his Insolence: But it seems he had a most wonderful Deliverance; for though they struck at him fourteen times, he escaped safe. However, if *Youkinna* had not interceded for a Reprieve till the next Day, he would certainly have been executed by the Emperor's Command.

In the mean time *Abu Obeidab* proceeded in his March, receiving by Surrender those Places which remained, till he came to that Bridge which they called the *Iron Bridge*, very near *Antioch*. The Emperor commits the Care of the Army, and the City to *Youkinna*, and delivered to him a Crucifix out of the Church, which was never shown publicly, but upon extraordinary Occasions. Then he called for the Prisoners. But *Youkinna* told him, that it would be the best way to spare them, because if any of the Christians should be taken, they might be exchanged: Upon which Suggestion their Execution was deferred, and by the Advice of the Bishops, they were carried into the Great Church, to see if any of them would embrace the Christian Religion, and be baptized. *Amer*, the Son of *Rephâa* turned; but our

Au-

Author will needs have it, that it was the Dress and Beauty of the Grecian Ladies influenced the young Man more than any Conviction of Conscience. When his Father *Repháa* heard of it, he broke out into this passionate Exclamation : *What ! turn Infidel after having embraced the Faith ! Alas for thee ! Thou art driven from the Gate of the most Merciful. Alas for thee, thou hast denied the King, the Judge. Alas for thee, thou Reprobate ! How hast thou denied the Lord of Might and perfect Power ! I swear by God, that I weep not for thee, because I must part with thee in this World, but because I must part with thee in the next ; when thou must go one way, and I another. When thou shalt go to the Habitation of Devils, and be placed with these Priests and Deacons in the ¹ lowest Mansion of Hell, I shall go with the Followers of Mahomet, (upon whom be the Blessing of God) to meet those Spirits which converse with him. O Son ! Chuse not the Delights of this present World before that to come. Oh ! How shall I be astonished and confounded for this that thou hast done, when thou comest to stand in the Presence of the Lord of all Power and Might, the King of this World, and that to come ! And how shall I be ashamed before Mahomet, the elect Prophet of God ! O Son ! From whom wilt thou seek Intercession*

¹ Arab, *Sadisati*, i. e. The Sixth.

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Alwákidi.

²*another Day!* The young Man was baptized, and received with great Courtesy both by the Emperor and the Bishops. The Emperor gave him a Horse, and a young Woman, and listed him into *Jabalab Ebno'l Ayham's* Army, consisting of Christian *Arabs*. The Patriarch asked the rest, what hindered them from turning Christians too. To which they answered, *The Truth of our Religion*. The Patriarch represented to them the Danger they incurred, by displeasing *Jesus Christ*. To which *Rephâa* replied, *That it would one Day be determined, which Party was rejected, and which in the Favour of God*. *Heraclius* told them, that he had been informed that their *Caliph* used to wear very mean Apparel; adding, That he had gotten enough from the Christians to afford himself a better Dress, and asked, what should hinder him from going like other Princes. *Rephâa* told him, *That the Consideration of the other World, and the Fear of God hindered him*. To the other Questions proposed by the Emperor, they answered in a Cant so very much like what our Ears have for some late Years been used to, that were it not for the Difference of the Language, we might justly have suspected them to have been nearer Neigh-

² *Arab. Gadan. i. e. To Morrow.* It is used to express future Time; and signifies in this Place the Day of Judgment.

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Alwākidi.

bours. The Emperor asked them, *What sort of a Palace their Caliph had?* They said, it was made of Mud. *And who* (said the Emporor) *are his Attendants?* The Beggars and poor People. *What Tapestry does he sit upon?* Justice and Uprightness. *And what is his Throne?* Abstinence and certain Knowledge. *And what is his Treasure?* Trust in God. *And who are his Guard?* The stoutest of the **UNITARIANS**. They added, *Dost thou not know, O King! that several have said unto him, O Omar! Lo, thou possessest the Treasures of the Cæsars; and Kings and great Men are subdued unto thee: Now therefore why puttest thou not on rich Garments?* He said unto them, *Ye seek the outward World, but I seek the Favour of him that is Lord both of this World, and that to come.*

The Emperor having discoursed with them as long as he thought fit, remanded them to Prison, and went to take a view of his Army, which he found drawn up without the City in very good Order. At the Head of every Regiment there was a little Church made of Wood, for the Soldiers to go to Prayers in. On a sudden, he was informed that the *Arabs* were Masters of the *Iron Bridge*. He was very much surprized to hear that they had taken two Towers, in which there were no fewer than three hundred Officers, in so short a time; but it seems

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seems they were betrayed : Which was occasioned thus ; A great Officer at Court used to go every Day to see that these Towers were well guarded, and not neglected. One Day he found those whose Business it was to take care of these Towers, drinking and revelling, and no Body upon Duty. Provoked with this intolerable Negligence, he ordered them fifty Lashes a-piece. This severe Discipline made them study Revenge ; and accordingly, when *Abu Obeidab* and his Army drew near, they made Articles for themselves, and delivered the Towers into the Hands of the Saracens.

The Emperor having now no Hopes left, assembled the Bishops and great Men together in the Great Church, and there bewailed the unhappy Fate of *Syria*. *Jabalab* told him, that if the *Caliph* was killed, the Affairs of the Saracens would be embroiled, and it would be of great moment towards the Recovery of what he had lost. Having obtained Leave, he sent one of his Christian *Arabs*, whose Name was *Wathek Ebn Mosápher*, a resolute young Man, with Orders to take a convenient Opportunity of killing the *Caliph*. *Omar*, after Prayers, went out of the City, to take a Walk, according to his Custom. *Wathek* went before him, and got upon a Tree, where he sat privately, till at last he observed *Omar* lie down to sleep very near him.

him. Having this fair Opportunity, he drew his Dagger, and was just coming down, when casting his Eyes about, he saw a Lion walking round about *Omar*, and licking his Feet ; who guarded him till he awoke, and then went away. Surprized at this, and struck with a profound Reverence for the *Caliph*, whom he now looked upon as the peculiar Care of Heaven, he came down and kissed his Hand, and having told him his Errand, made Profession of the *Mahometan* Religion immediately, being strangely affected with this wonderful Deliverance.

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In the mean time the Armies before *Antioch* drew near to Battle, and the Christian General's Name was *Nestorius*. He went out first, and challenged any *Saracen* to single Combat. *Dames* answered him ; but in the Engagement, his Horse stumbling, he was seized before he could recover himself, and being taken Prisoner, was conveyed to *Nestorius* his Tent, and there bound. *Nestorius* returning to the Army, and offering himself a second time, was answered by one *Debác*. The Combatants behaved themselves bravely, and the Victory was doubtful, which made all the Soldiers desirous of being Spectators. The jostling and thronging both of Horse and Foot to see this Engagement, threw down *Nestorius* his Tent and Chair of State. He had three Servants left in the Tent, who fearing they

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they should be beaten when their Master came back, and having no body else to help them, told *Dames*, that if he would lend them an Hand to set up the Tent, and put things in order, they would unbind him, upon Condition that he should voluntarily return to his Bonds again, till their Master came home, at which time they promised to speak a good Word for him. He readily accepted the Terms; but as soon as he was at Liberty, he immediately seized two of them, one in his Right Hand, the other in his Left, and dashed their two Heads so violently against the third Man's, that they all three fell down dead upon the Place. Then he opened a Chest, and took out a good Suit of Cloaths, and mounting a good Horse of *Nestorius's*, he wrapped up his Face as well as he could, and made towards the Christian *Arabs*, where *Jabalab* with the chief of his Tribe stood on the Left Hand of *Heraclius*. In the mean time, *Dehâc* and *Nestorius*, being equally matched, continued fighting, till both their Horses were quite tired out, and they were obliged to part by Consent, to rest themselves. *Nestorius* returning to his Tent, and finding things in such a Posture, easily guessed that it must be *Dames* his doing. The News flew instantly through all the Army, and every one was surprized at the Strangeness of the Action. *Dames*, in the mean time,

time, had gotten among the Christian *Arabs*, and striking off at one Blow a Man's Head that stood next him, made a speedy Escape to the Saracen Army.

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Alwákidi.

All this while *Youkinna* was contriving which way to do the Saracens Service; and when *Derar* and his Companions had been Prisoners eight Months, and were just about being beheaded, he interceded with the Emperor to spare them; assuring him, that if he put them to Death, the Saracens would never more give Quarter to any Christian, when ever any of them should fall into their Hands. The Emperor not suspecting any Treachery, committed them to his Care; who, watching a convenient Opportunity, set them at Liberty, and gave them their Arms, assuring them, that there were a great many Persons of the highest Quality in the Emperor's Service, who were fully resolved to go over to the Saracens. The Emperor disheartened with a constant Course of ill Success, and terrified with a Dream which he had of one thrusting him out of his Throne, and his Crown falling from his Head, took some of his Domesticks, and escaping privately to the Sea-shore, embarked for *Constantinople*.

Our Author tells us a strange Story of the Emperor's turning *Mabometan*, which was occasioned by a great Pain in his Head, for which he

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he could get no help, till he applied himself to Omar, who sent him a Cap, which so long as he wore, he was well ; but when he took it off, it returned again. The Emperor wondering at this strange Effect, would have the Cap ripped open ; but found nothing in it but a little Piece of Paper, with *Bismillah, Arrahmâni 'rrabbimi, In the Name of the most merciful God*, written upon it. This Cap, it seems, was possessed by the Christians till the Reign of *Almotâsem* (which began in the Year of our Lord 833.) who besieging *Ammoytriyah*, was grievously afflicted with the Head-Ach ; upon which the Governour of the Town promised him the Cap, upon Condition that he should raise the Siege. The *Caliph, Almotâsem*, undertook it, provided the Cap produced the desired Effect, which it did incontinently, and the Siege was accordingly raised. The same Curiosity which moved the Emperor *Haraclius* to have the Cap opened, made this *Caliph* do so too ; but he found nothing in it but the above-mentioned Scrip of Paper, whose Vertue was not in the least impaired or diminished in the space of two hundred Years ; which Period of Time, would, in all Probability, have made some Alteration in an ordinary Medicine. But the Case is quite different here, for we have been told by other Hands, that the Relicks of holy Men are never the worse for wear-

wearing. What is it that Men will not believe and write when once bigotted to Superstition!

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To return to the Army. *Antioch* was not lost without a set Battel; but through the Treachery of *Youkinna*, and several other Persons of Note, together with the assistance of *Derar* and his Company, who were mixt with *Youkinna*'s Men, the Christians were beaten entirely. The People of the Town perceiving the Battle lost, made Agreement, and surrendered, paying down three hundred thousand Ducats. Upon which *Abu Obeidah* entered into *Antioch* on Tuesday, being in the twenty first Day of *August*, in the Year of our Lord six hundred and thirty eight. ¹

Thus fell that ancient and famous City, the Seat of so many Kings and Princes, into the Hands of the Infidels. The Sweetness of the Situation, and Abundance of all things contributing to Delight and Luxury, was so great, that *Abu Obeidah*, fearing lest his Saracens, effeminated with the Delicacies of that Place, should remit any thing of their wonted Vigour and Bravery, durst not let them continue there long; but after three Days Refreshment, withdrew them from thence.

Then he wrote a Letter to the *Caliph*, in which he gave him an Account of his great

¹ *Hegirah* 17. *A. D.* 638.

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Success in taking the *Metropolis* of *Syria*, and *Heraclius* his Flight to *Constantinople*; Telling him withal, what was the reason why he staid no longer there. He added, That the Saracens were desirous of marrying the *Grecian* Women, which he had forbidden. That he was afraid lest the Love of the things of this World should take Possession of their Hearts, and draw them off from their Obedience to God. That he staid expecting further Orders, &c.

Having written this Letter, he asked who would carry it. *Zeid Ebn Wabeb*, who was *Omar Ebn Auf's* Slave, profered his Service. *Abu Obeidab* told him, that since he was a Slave, he could not any case dispose of his Service, but must first ask his Master's Leave. *Zeid* hereupon went to his Master, and bowed himself down to the Ground, to touch it with his Forehead, according to the manner of Prostration in the *Eastern* Countries: But his Master forbad him, being a Man altogether abstracted from the Love of the Things of this World, and not desiring any such Respect, being wholly intent and fixed upon the other World. He was abstinent to such a degree, that his whole Inventory consisted in these few Necessaries; a Sword, a Launce, a Horse, a Camel, a Knap-sack, a Platter, and an Alcoran. When any part of the Spoil fell to his Share, he never laid
up

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up any thing for himself, but always divided it amongst his Friends; and if there was any thing left, he sent it to the *Caliph*, to be distributed among the Poor. *Zeid* having asked his leave to carry the Letter, he was so well pleased to see such a good Inclination in his Slave, to be a Messenger of good News to the *Caliph*, that he immediately gave him his Freedom. When *Zeid* came near to *Medinah*, he was surprized with an unusual Noise; but upon Enquiry, he was informed, that the *Caliph* was going on Pilgrimage to *Meccah*, and the Prophet's Wives along with him. *Omar*, having heard the News, fell down and worshipped, saying, *O God! Praise and Thanks be to thee, for thine abundant Grace.* Having read the Letter, he wept, and said, that *Abu Obeidab* had not been kind to the *Muslemans*. Then sitting down upon the Ground, he wrote an Answer to *Abu Obeidab*; in which, after having expressed with what Satisfaction he received the News of his good Success; he blamed him, for not having been more indulgent to the *Muslemans*; adding, *That God did not forbid the Use of the good Things of this Life to faithful Men, and such as performed good Works: Wherefore he ought to have given them leave to rest themselves, and partake freely of those good Things which the Country afforded. That if any of the*

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Saracens had no Family in Arabia, they might marry in Syria; and whosoever of them wanted any Female-Slaves, might purchase as many as he had Occasion for. He ordered him to pursue the Enemy, and enter into the Mountainous part of the Country; and then concluded.

Zeid returning to the Army with the Caliph's Letter, found the Saracens full of Joy; occasioned by Caled's good Success, who had gone through the Country as far as the Euphrates, and taken Menbigz, and some other neighbouring Towns, as Berâa and Báles, upon Surrender; the Inhabitants paying down one hundred thousand Ducats for their present Security, and submitting to Tribute for the time to come. This was done in the Month Mobarram, of the eighteenth Year of the Hegirah; which answers partly to January, of the Year of our Lord six hundred and thirty eight, according to our Account. Our Author must here, as in some other Places, answer for his own Chronology; for the Messenger Zeid was sent to Medinah presently after the taking of Antioch, which was in August; and there is no account given of any Business extraordinary that detained him there: Which makes it look something strange, that he should be four Months going and returning for Antioch (or Aleppo) to Medinah especially considering with what

what quick Dispatch the Saracens used to move upon such Occasions.

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Alwākidi.

Abu Obeidah having received the *Caliph's* Letter, asked the *Muslemans* which of them would undertake to make an Attempt upon the mountainous part of the Country. Whether the Difficulty of the Service, or what other Reason discouraged them, is uncertain; but no body answered him the two first times. At last *Méisarah Ebn Mesrouk* proffered his Service, and received at the Hands of the General a black Flag, with his Inscription up it in white Letters, **THERE IS BUT ONE GOD: MAHOMET IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD.** He took along with him three hundred chosen *Arabs*, besides a thousand Slaves,* Blacks, commanded by *Dames*. They found it a very uneasy Undertaking; for though the Summer came on a-pace, they were forced to make use of all the Cloaths they had, and knew very well what to have done with more; for they met with nothing but Frost and Snow amongst the Mountains; which was extreamly disagreeable to their Bodies, who had been brought up under the *Torrid Zone*. Marching a long way, they came to a Village; but finding no body in it (for the Country fled before them) they took what there was, and moved forwards. At last they took a Prisoner, who

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Alwákidi.

informed them, that there were Forces of the Emperor, to the number of thirty thousand, sent to guard that part of the Country, not above three Leagues distant. They asked him, whether it was most adviseable to advance towards them, or stand their Ground. To which he answered, *That it were better for them to stay where they were, than to hazard themselves by going any further among the Mountains.* The Saracens having examined him as long as they thought fit, offered him the *Mahometan Religion*; which he refusing, was beheaded. In a short time after, the *Greeks* came within fight, and the Battle was joined. *Méisarab*, overpowered with Multitudes, was soon surrounded. However he sent a Messenger to *Abu Obeidah*, who made such haste, that as soon as he came into his Presence, he was not able to speak a Word, but fell down in a Swoon. *Abu Obeidah* having caused some Water to be sprinkled on his Face, and refreshed him with meat and Drink, he came to himself, and delivered his Errand. Upon which *Abu Obeidah* sent *Caled* to *Méisarab's* Assistance with three thousand Horse; and after him *Ayâd Ebn Ganam* with two thousand more. But before they came up, *Abdollâb Ebn Hodâpha*, a Saracen of Note, and much beloved by the *Caliph*, was taken Prisoner, and sent away towards *Constantinople*.

The

The Greeks perceiving there were fresh Supplies come to the Saracens, durst not run the hazard of another Battle the next Day, but withdrew in the Night, and left their Tents to the Saracens. They not thinking it a prudent part to pursue the Enemy any further in that Mountainous County, returned to *Abu Obeidah*, who writing an Account of the whole Business to *Medinah*, the Caliph was extremely concerned at the Loss of *Abdollah Ebn Hodâpha*, which occasioned his writing the following Letter to the Emperor *Heraclius*.

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Alwâkidi.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

¹ Praise be to God, Lord of this and the other World²: Who has neither ³ Female-Consort, nor Son. *And the Blessing of God be upon Mahomet, his Prophet and Apostle* ⁴ *divinely assisted. From the Servant of God, Omar Ebn Alchitab to Heraclius King of Greece. As soon as this Letter of mine shall come to thy Hands, send to me the Prisoner that is with thee; whose name is Abdollah Ebn Hodâpha: Which if thou shalt do, I shall hope that God will direct thee into the* ⁵ *right Way. But if thou refusest, I shall send thee Men,* ⁶ *whom Trade and Merchandize shall*

¹ *Alcoran*, Chap. I. 1.

² *Alcoran*, Chap. LXXII. 3.

³ Arab. *Sabhibah*.

⁴ Arab. *Almowayad*.

⁵ That is,

into the Profession of the Mahometan Religion,

⁶ *Al-*

coran, Chap. XXIV. 37. LXIII. 9.

Omar.
Alwákidi.

not divert from the Remembrance of God.
7 Health and Happinefs be upon every one that follows the right Way.

I do not question but the Reader will think this Letter writ in a very particular Stile ; but it is no other than what might be expected from those most inveterate and mortal Enemies of of Christianity, who made it always their Business to treat the Professors of it with the utmost Contempt and Aversion. This Prisoner, *Abdollâb Ebn Hodâpha* was *Mahomet's* Cousin-German. Our Author tells us, that the Emperor made him very large Proffers, if he would have renounced his *Mahometanism* ; but all in vain. Nor were his Threats more influencing than his Promises. It seems he proffered him his Liberty, if he would but have made one single Adoration before a Crucifix. The Emperor would have perswaded him to have drunk Wine, and eat Hogs Flesh ; which he refusing, was shut up into a Room where he had nothing else. Upon the fourth Day they visited him, and found all untouched: The Emperor asked him, what hindred him from Eating and Drinking? To which he answered, *The Fear of God and his Apostle : Notwithstanding* (added he) *I might lawfully have eat it after three Days Abstinence, yet I abstained, because I would not*

⁷ *Alcoran*, Chap. XX. 49.

be reproached by the Muslemans. Heraclius having received Omar's Letter, not only dismissed the Prisoner, but gave both him and the Messenger that brought the Letter, several Presents, and rich Cloaths, and allowed them a sufficient Guard to conduct them safe through his Territories. Besides all this, he made a Present of a costly Jewel to Omar, who offered it to the Jewellers at Medinah; but they were ignorant of the Worth of it. The Muslemans would have perswaded him to have kept it for his own Use; but he said, he could not answer that to the Public. Wherefore it was afterwards sold, and the Price of it put into the public Treasury; of which the Caliph was in these Days only the Steward or Manager: For though it was all at his Disposal, yet he very seldom applied any of it to his own private Use, much less to Extravagance and Luxury; but took care to lay it out so as it might do most Service to the Publick.

Omar.
Alwákidi.

We have before acquainted the Reader, that after Omar had taken *Jerusalem*, he divided the Army, and sent one part of it under *Abu Obeidab*, towards *Aleppo*; the other under *Amrou Ebno'l Aás* to *Ægypt*. *Amrou* did not march directly to *Ægypt*, but continued a while in *Palestine*, to take some Places there which as yet held out. As he was marching towards
Cæsarea,

Omar.
Alwākidi.

Cæsarea, the *Saracens* found the Weather extremely cold. *Sobeih Ebn Hamzah*, eating some Grapes at that time, was so chilled, that he was scarce able to endure it: An old Christian that was present, told him, that if he found himself cold with eating the Grapes, the best Remedy would be to drink some of the Juice of them, and withal produced a large Vessel of Wine. *Sobeih* and some of his Friends took the old Man's Advice, and drank so freely of his Liquor, that they went staggering to the Army. *Amrou* understanding their Condition, wrote to *Abu Obeidah*; by whose Order they all received a sufficient Number of Stripes upon the Soles of their Feet. The refreshment they received by drinking the Wine, was so far, in their Opinion, from counter-balancing the Severity of the Punishment, that *Sobeih* swore he would kill the Fellow that helped him to it; and had been as good as his Word, if one that was present had not told him, that the Man was under the Protection of the *Saracens*.

Constantine, the Emperor *Heraclius* his Son, guarded that part of the Country where *Amrou* lay, with a considerable Army; and frequently sent Spies (Christian *Arabs*) into his Camp. One of them went one time, and sat down amongst some *Arabs* of *Ayáman*, or *Arabia Fælix*, that had made them a Fire. Having conversed

versed with them as long as was for his Purpose, without being suspected; as he was rising to go away, he trod upon his Vest and stumbled; upon which he swore, *By Christ*, unawares. The Oath was no sooner out of his Mouth, but they immediately knew him to be a Christian Spy, and cut him to Pieces in an instant. *Amrou* was angry when he heard it, because he would have had the examining him first. Besides, he told them, *That it oftentimes happened, that a Spy, when put to it, came over to them, and embraced the Mahometan Religion.* Upon which he gave a strict Order throughout the Camp, that if ever they met with a Stranger or Spy, they should convey them to him.

The Armies drawing near, there came a Christian Priest to the *Saracens*, who desired that an *Emír*, or *Principal Officer*, might be sent to *Constantine*, to discourse with him. There was a huge, monstrous Fellow, a Black, whose Name was *Belál Ebn Rébab*, who proffered his Service. But *Amrou* told him, that it would be better to send an *Arabian*, who could talk more politely than an *Æthiopian*. *Belál*, resolving, if possible, to take no Denial, adjured him by God to let him go. To which *Amrou* answered, *That since he had adjured him by the most Mighty, it should be so.* This *Belál* had formerly been *Mahomet's Crier*; that is, the Person that calls the People

Omar.
Alwákidi.

People together to Prayers. And never exercised that Office (as the ⁸Author of the History of *Jerusalem* says) after *Mahomet's* Death, but only once, when *Omar* commanded him to perform that Service at the taking of *Jerusalem*: Otherwise, I suppose it would have been beneath him to have served any other Person, who had been employed after that manner by the Prophet; but the taking of *Jerusalem*, which had been the Seat of the ancient Prophets, and was a Place very much revered by the *Mahometans*, was an extraordinary Occasion.⁹ When he came to the Priest, he disdained to have an *Æthiopian* sent, and bad him go back again, telling him, that his Master *Constantine* had not sent for a Slave, but an Officer. *Belâl*, who valued himself very much upon his Office, and expected every one should do so too, thought himself affronted; and let him know, that he had been no less a Person than the *Muëzzin* of the Apostle of God, and that he was able to give his Master an Answer. But this not being received, he was forced to go back again; and at last *Amrou* resolved to go himself. It will not be amiss to insert a short Account of their Conference, as delivered by our Author, that the Reader may see what sort of a Notion the *Mahometans* have of ancient History.

⁸ MS. Arab. Pococ. Num. 362.

⁹ *Alwákidi*.

When

Omar.
Alwákidi.

When *Amrou* came into *Constantine's* Presence, he offered him a Seat, but, according to the Practice of the *Saracens*, he refused to make use of it; chusing rather to sit cross-legged upon the Ground, with his Sword upon his Thigh, and his Launce laid a-cross before him. *Constantine* told him, that the *Arabs* and *Greeks* were near Kindred, and that it was pity they should make War one upon the other. *Amrou* answered, *That their Religion was different; upon which score it was lawful for Brothers to quarrel.* However, he said, he desired to know which way the ⁶ *Koreishæ* came to be so near akin to the *Greeks*? *Constantine* answered (according to our Author) Was not our first Father *Adam*, then *Noah*, then *Abraham*, then *Esau*, then *Isaac*, which were both Sons of *Abraham* (⁷ the Blessing of God be upon them all.) Now one Brother ought not to do Injustice to another, and quarrel about that Division which was made for them by their Fore-fathers. Thus far you say true, answered *Amrou*, That ⁸ *Esau* begot *Isaac*, and *Ishmael* is *Esau's* Uncle; and so we are the Sons of one Father, and *Noah*

⁶ A noble Tribe among the *Arabs*, of which *Mahomet* was. ⁷ This is an Expression used by the *Arab* Writers, whenever they mention any of the ancient Prophets. ⁸ He makes strange Work of this Genealogy; but the *Arabick* may be read, *Esau Walado Ishác*; i. e. *Esau* is the Son of *Isaac*; not *wálada*, begot *Isaac*. But if, to help him out, we should read it so, we contradict him, for just before he reckons *Esau* before *Isaac*.

was

Omar.
Alwákidi.

was our Father. Now Noah divided the Land into Parts when he was angry with his Son Ham; with which Division they were not pleased, but quarrelled about it: And this Land in which you are, is not yours properly, but belongs to the Amalekites, who had it before you. For Noah divided it among his three Sons, Sem, Ham, and Japhet; and gave his Son Sem, Syria, and what lies round it, from Arabia Fœlix and Hadramut to Ammân; and all the Arabs are the Offspring of Sem and Kahtân, and Tefm, and Jodais, and Amalek who is the Father of the Amalekites. To his Son Ham he gave the West and Sea-shore; and he left Japhet between the East and West; ² For the Earth is the Lord's, he gives it an Inheritance to which of his Servants he pleases, and the latter End is to the Faithful. We therefore, adds Amrou, desire to have this ancient Division restored, and make things equal after this manner. We will take what is in your Hands, and you shall take the Stones and Thorns, and barren Grounds which we possess, in lieu of these pleasant Rivers, rich Pastures, and stately Buildings. Constantine told him, that the Division was already made, and that it would be great Injustice in them not to be content with what had fallen to their Share. To which Amrou answered, That they liked the Provision and manner of Living in Syria, so much better than their

² Alcoran, Chap. VII. 125.

Omar.
Alwákidi.

own course Fare at home, that they could never think of leaving the Country till they had conquered it, and could sit down at quiet under those shady Trees. A little while after, he told those that were present, That it would be no hard matter for them to continue in the Possession of what they had; for it was only changing their Religion, and the Business was done. But both that and Payment of Tribute being refused, Amrou told them, That there was nothing now left, but to determine it by the Sword. God knows, said he, that I have called you to the means by which you might save your selves, but you are rebellious, just as your Father ³ Esau was disobedient to his Mother: You reckon your selves akin to us, but we desire to have nothing to do with your Affinity, so long as you continue Infidels. You, besides, are the Off-spring of Esau, we of ⁴ Ishmael:

³ This the Mahometans have from the Jews, who believe most Europeans to be the Offspring of Esau. Abarbanel takes a great deal of Pains to prove it, and those Jews I have conversed with are of the same Opinion. ⁴ Amongst other blind Stories which some of the Christian Writers have told of the Saracens, this is one, viz. That they called themselves Saracens, because they would have the World believe that they were descended from Sarah, Abraham's lawful Wife; being ashamed of Hagar his Slave. But the contrary is most evident, for they are neither ashamed of Ishmael nor Hagar, as for Ishmael we have an instance in this very place and for Hagar, the Reader may consult the *Faubarian*, (a famous Arab Lexicographer) who in the Word *Agara*, says, Hagar is the Mother of Ishmael, upon whom be Peace.

And

Omar.
Alwákidi.

And God chose our Prophet Mahomet from Adam, to the time that he came out of the Loins of his Father; and made him the best of the Sons of Ishmael, (and his Father Ishmael was the first that spoke Arabick) and he made the Tribe of Kenanah the best of the Arabs; and the Family of Koreishæ the best of Kenanah; and the Off-spring of Hashem, the best of the Koreishæ; and the best of the Sons of Hashem, Abdo'lmutaleb the Prophet's Grandfather; and sent the Angel Gabriel down to him [Mahomet] with Inspiration.

The Conference ending without any Hopes of Accomodation, *Amrou* returned to his Army, and both sides prepared for Battle, as soon as a convenient Opportunity should offer it self. One Day, there came forth out of *Constantine's* Army, an Officer very richly dressed, which made several of the *Saracens* desirous of fighting with him, in hopes of carrying off his Spoil. *Amrou* used to say, *That he would have no Man go to fight out of Greediness; for the Reward which was to be expected from God, was much better than the Spoil of the Enemy.* He added, *That whosoever was killed in Battle, lost his Life either for the sake of God, or else for some other End which he proposed to himself. If the former, then God would be his Reward; but if he proposed any temporal Thing, he was to expect nothing else, and that he had heard the Prophet speak to the same*

same Purpose. There came forth to this Officer a beardless Stripling, whose forward Zeal had prompted him on to leave *Arabia Fælix*, and venture himself in the Wars. His Mother and Sister had hitherto bore him Company in his Travels. This Youth used to say, *That it was not the Delights of Syria, that moved him to go thither, (because the Delights of this World were fading, but those of the other durable.) But that his Desire was to fight for the Service of God, seeking the favour of God and his Apostle. Because he had heard one say, that the Martyrs shall be maintained with their Lord. How can that be,* answered his Sister, *how can they be maintained when dead?* He answered, *That he had heard one that was acquainted with the Apostle of God, say, That the Spirits of the Martyrs shall be put into the Crops of green Birds that live in Paradise, which Birds shall eat the Fruits of Paradise, and drink the Rivers; this is the Maintenance which God has provided for them.* He went out to fight with the Christian, after he had taken his last Leave of his Mother and Sister, and told them, that they should meet again at that ⁹ large Water which belongs to the Apostle of God in Paradise. The Christian Officer not only killed this Youth, but two or three more. At last *Serjabil Ebn Hasanah* came forth to him;

⁹ *Arab. Hbaud.*

Omar.
Alwákidi.

but he was so emaciated with Watching and Fasting, that he was not able to stand before him. The Christian at last got him down, sat upon him, and was just going to cut his Throat; when on a sudden there came a Horseman out of the Grecian Army, who immediately kicked the Christian off, and taking him at Advantage, struck his Head off. *Serjabil*, surprized at this unexpected Deliverance, asked him, who he was, and from whence he came? *I am*, said he, *the unhappy Tulèiha Ebn Chowáiled, who pretended to prophesy like the Apostle of God; and lyed against God, saying, that Inspiration came down to me from Heaven. Serjabil answered, O Brother! God's Mercy is infinite; and he that repents, and forsakes, and turns himself to God; he accepts of his Repentance, and forgives him what he has done; for the Prophet says, Repentance takes away what was done before it. And dost thou not know, O Ebn Chowáiled, that God said to our Prophet, My Mercy is extended to every Creature that desires it? adding moreover whatever he could to comfort him. Notwithstanding which, conscious to himself of the Grossness of his Crime, he could not find in his Heart to return to the Saracens; but being very much pressed to it by Serjabil, he at last told him in plain Terms, that he was afraid of Caled, (the Scourge of false Prophets, who*
broke

Omar.
Alwákidi.

broke them to Pieces at first, and killed *Moseilamah*, the Chief of them) *Serjabil* assured him, that *Caled* was not present, but staid at *Aleppo* with *Abu Obeidab*. At last, with much ado, he perswaded him to go with him to the Army. This *Tuleiba*, after *Moseilamah* was killed, withdrew himself out of *Arabia*, which would then have been soon too hot for him, and went and lived privately with a *Mahometan* in *Syria*, who maintained him for a while ; till at last they being very familiar, and thoroughly acquainted, *Tuleiba* made himself known, and gave him an Account of his whole Story. His Landlord, as soon as he understood his Character, treated him with the utmost Aversion, and would entertain him no longer, but turned him out of Doors. Reduced to this Extremity, he was almost at his Wits End, and had some Thoughts of taking Ship, and retiring into some Island: But *Constantine's* Army coming into those Parts before he could put his Design in Execution, he chose rather to list himself under him, in hopes of finding an Opportunity of ingratiating himself with the Muslemans.

Being at last prevailed upon to go back to the *Saracens*, he was very courteously received by *Amrou* ; who not only gave him Thanks for his singular Service, but upon his expressing his Apprehensions of *Caled*, promised to secure him,

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and wrote a recommendatory Letter to Omar, acquainting him with the signal Proof which *Tuléiba* had given of his sincere and unfeigned Repentance. *Tuléiba* found the *Caliph* at *Meccab*: Delivering the Letter, and withal telling him that he repented, Omar asked who he was? and had no sooner heard his Name mentioned, but he made off as fast as he could, saying, *Alas for thee! If I forgive thee, how shall I give an Account to God of the Murder of Ocâsah?* *Tuléiba* answered, *Ocâsah indeed suffered Martyrdom by my Hands, which I am very sorry for, and I hope that God will forgive me what I have done.* Omar desired to know what Proof he could give of his Sincerity; but having perused *Amrou's* Letter, he was abundantly satisfied, and kept him with him till he returned to *Medinah*, after which he employed him in his Wars against the *Persians*.

To return to *Constantine's* Army. The Weather was very cold, and the Christians were quite disheartened, having been frequently beaten and discouraged daily with the encreasing Power of the *Saracens*; so that a great many grew weary of the Service, and withdrew themselves from the Army. *Constantine*, having no Hopes of the Victory, and fearing lest the *Saracens* should seize *Cæsarea*, took an Opportunity in a tempestuous Night to move off; and left his
Camp

Camp to the *Saracens*. *Amrou* acquainting *Abu Obeidab* with all that had happened, received express Orders to march directly to *Cæsarea*, where he promised to join him speedily, in order to go against *Tripoli*, *Accab* and *Tyre*. In a little time after *Tripoli* was surprized by the Treachery of *Youkinna*, who having gotten it on a sudden, and without any Noise, there came thither a little while after, about fifty Ships with Provision and Arms for *Cyprus* and *Crete*, which were to go to *Constantine*. The Officers not knowing that *Tripoli* was fallen into the Hands of new Masters, made no scruple of landing there, where they were courteously received by *Youkinna*, who proffered the utmost of his Service, and promised to go along with them. But immediately seized both them and their Ships, and delivered the Town into the Hands of *Caled*, who was just come.

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With these Ships the Traytor *Youkinna* goes to *Tyre*, where he tells the Inhabitants, that he had brought Arms and Provision for *Constantine's* Army. Upon which he was kindly received, and he with nine hundred of his Men landed, and were entertained. But being betrayed by one of his own Men, he and his Crew were seized and bound; receiving all the while such Treatment from the Soldiers, as their villainous Practices best deserved. In the

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mean time *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, being sent by *Abu Obeidab* from the Siege of *Cæsarea*, came within Sight of *Tyre*. The Governour perceiving this, caused *Youkinna* and his Men to be conveyed to the Castle, and there secured. Having done this, he prepares for the Defence of the Town; and perceiving that *Yezid* had but a small Number, (his Army not exceeding two Thousand) he resolved to make a Salley. In the mean time, the rest of the Inhabitants ran up to the Walls, to see the Engagement. Whilst they were fighting, *Youkinna* and his Men were set at Liberty by one *Basil*, of whom they give the following Account: *viz.*

“ That this *Basil* going one Day to pay a Visit
 “ to *Bobéirab* the Monk, the Caravan of the
 “ *Koreishæ* came by, with which were *Ca-*
 “ *dijab*’s Camels, which were looked after by
 “ *Mahomet*. He looked towards the Caravan,
 “ in the Middle of which was *Mahomet*, and
 “ there was a Cloud upon him to keep him
 “ from the Sun. Then the Caravan alighted,
 “ and *Mahomet*, leaning against an old with-
 “ ed Tree, it immediately brought forth Leaves.
 “ *Bobéirab* perceiving this, made an Entertain-
 “ ment for the Caravan, and invited them in
 “ to the Monastery; *Mahomet* staying behind
 “ with the Camels. *Bobéirab* missing him, ask-
 “ ed if there were all of them? Yes, they said,
 “ all

“ all but a little Boy they had left to look after their Things, and feed the Camels. *What is his Name*; says *Bobéirab*. They told him *Mahommed Ebn Abdo'llah*. *Bobéirab* asked, if his Father and Mother was not dead, and and if he was not brought up by his Grandfather and his Uncle. Being satisfied that it was so, he said, O *Koreish*! *Set a great Value upon him, for he is your Lord, and by him will your Power be great both in this World, and that to come; for he is your Ornament and Glory*. They asked him how he knew that? *Because*, answered *Bobéirab*, *as you were coming, there was never a Tree, nor Stone, nor Clod, but bowed itself and worshipped God*. *Bobéirab* besides told this *Basil*, that a great many Prophets had leaned against this Tree, and sat under it, but it never bore any Leaves before, since it was withered. *And I heard him say*, (says this same *Basil*) *This is the Prophet, concerning whom Isa (Jesus) spake, happy is he that believes in him, and follows him, and gives Credit to his Mission*.” This *Basil*, after the Visit to *Bobéirab*, had gone to *Constantinople*, and other Parts of the Greek Emperor's Territories, and upon Information of the great Success of the Followers of this Prophet, was abundantly convinced of the Truth of his Mission. This inclined him, having so

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fair an Opportunity offered, to release *Youkinna* and his Men; who sending word to the Ships, the rest of their Forces landed and joined them. In the mean time, a Messenger in Disguise was sent to acquaint *Yezid* with what was done. As soon as he returned, *Youkinna* was for falling upon the Townsmen upon the Wall; but *Basil* said, *Perhaps God might lead some of them into the right Way*; and perswaded him rather to place the Men so, as their coming down from the Wall might be prevented. This done, they cry out *La Ilaba*, &c. The People perceiving themselves betrayed, and the Prisoners at Liberty, were in the utmost confusion; none of them being able to stir a Step, or lift up an Hand. Those in the Camp, hearing the Noise in the City, knew what was the Occasion of it, and *Youkinna* opened the Gates and let them in. Those that were in the City, fled; some one way, and some another; and were pursued by the *Saracens*, and put to the Sword. Those upon the Wall, cried, *Quarter*: *Yezid* told them, That since they had not surrendered, but the City was taken by Force, they were all Slaves. *However*, said he, *we of our own accord set you free, upon Condition you pay Tribute; and if any of you has a mind to change his Religion, he shall fare as well as we do*. The greatest part of them turned *Mahometans*.

tans. When *Constantine* heard of the Loss of *Tripoli* and *Tyre*, his Heart failed him, and taking shipping with his Family and Wealth, he departed for *Constantinople*. All this while *Amrou Ebno'l Aás* lay before *Cæsarea*. In the Morning, when the People came to enquire after *Constantine*, and could hear no tidings of him nor his Family; they advised together, and with one Consent surrendered the City to *Amrou*, paying down for their Security two thousand Pieces of Silver, and delivering into his Hands whatsoever belonged to *Constantine*, that he had not carried away with him. Thus was *Cæsarea* lost, in the Year of our Lord six hundred and thirty nine, being the seventeenth Year of the *Hegirah*,[†] and the fifth of *Omar's* Reign; which answers to the twenty ninth Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Heraclius*. Upon which, those other Places in *Syria*, which as yet held out, namely, *Ramlab*, *Accab*, *Joppe*, *Ascalon*, *Gaza*, *Sichem* [or *Naboblos*] and *Tiberias* surrendered, and in a little time after, the People of *Beirout*, *Zidon*, *Jabalab*, and *Laodicea*, followed their Example; so that there remained nothing more to be done in *Syria*, but all was entirely subdued to the *Saracens*, who had not spent above six Years (from the time of their first Expedition in *Abu-*

[†] *Hegirah* 17, A. D. 639.

Omar.

beker's Reign) in subduing that large, wealthy and populous Country.

THUS have I given the Reader the best Account I was able, of the *Saracens* Conquest of *Syria*; following all along, as to Matter of Fact, my Author *Alwákidi*, who has written the most particular Relation of that part of the History that I have yet met with; or that is extant, to the best of my Knowledge. As for that little which remains, in order to the completing the Lives of this and the succeeding *Caliph*, since the short time of my Continuance at *Oxford* would not permit me to search for, or excerp any more Manuscripts, I must be content to depend upon those Authors which have been already published; as ² *Eutychius*, *Elmakîn*, and *Abu'lpharagius*: In which, tho' we have not so large and particular an Account as in the former Part of our History; yet the Reader will find something which shall still contribute to the better Knowledge of that People, and increase his Admiration, at the wonderful Success of their Arms, by which they arrived at that stupendious Greatness.

Syria, being conquered, remained not long in the Possession of those Persons who had the chief Hand in subduing it; for in the eigh-

² *Eutychius*, *Elmakin*, and *Abu'lpharagius*.

teenth Year of the *Hegirah*, which answers mostly to the Year of our Lord six hundred and thirty nine. There was such terrible Mortality both of men and Beasts, in *Syria*, particularly at *Emâus*, and the adjacent Territory, that the *Arabs* called that Year, ³ *The Year of Destruction*, by way of Distinction. The *Saracens* lost by that Plague five and twenty Thousand Men, among which were *Abu Obeidah*, (who was then fifty eight Years old) *Serjabil Ebn Hasanah*, formerly *Mahomet's* Secretary, and *Yezid Ebn Abi Sopbyan*, with several other *Saracens* of Note. ⁴ *Caled* survived them about three Years, and then died; but the Place of his Burial (consequently of his Death, for they did not use in those Days to carry them far) is uncertain; some say at *Hems*; others at *Medinah*.

Amrou Ebno'l Aâs, having staid as long in *Syria* as was necessary, pursuant to the *Caliph's* Command, prepared for his Expedition into *Ægypt*. Whilst he was upon his March, whether it proceeded from Envy, which always attends great Men, or whether *Othman Ebn Affâni* did not think him so proper a Person for such a Service; certain it is, that *Omar* was perswaded by some that were about him,

³ *Amo'l remâdah*.
salem, above cited.

⁴ Author of the History of *Jeru-*

Omar.

to recall him. That *Omar* himself entertained a good Opinion of him, and that he wrote to him rather to gratify the importunate Humour of his Friends, than out of any Dislike, seems plain from the Contents of the Letter. For whereas he could have commanded him positively to have returned, he writes only thus : *If this Letter comes to you before you get into Ægypt, return. But if you be entered into Ægypt, when the Messenger comes to you, go on with the Blessing of God, and assure yourself, that if you want any Supplies, I will take Care to send them.* The Messenger overtook *Amrou* before he was out of *Syria*; who either suspecting, or having received secret Information of the Business, ordered him to wait upon him, till he should be at leisure to read the Letter. In the mean time he hastens his March, fully resolved not to open it till he came into the Confines of *Ægypt*. When he came to a Place called *Arish*, having assembled the Officers in his Tent, he called for the Messenger, and opened the Letter with the same Gravity and Formality as if he had been altogether ignorant of the Contents of it. Having read it, he told the Company what was in it, and enquired of them, whether the Place where they then were, belonged to *Syria* or *Ægypt*. They answered, to *Ægypt*. Then, said *Amrou*, *we will go on.*

From

From thence he went to *Pharmab*; which he took after a Month's Siege. From thence to *Misrab*, (formerly *Memphis*) now *Cairo*, situate on the *Western* Bank of the River *Nilus*, and which had been the Seat of the ancient *Ægyptian* Kings. This Place the *Greeks* had fortified, as being the most considerable (except *Alexandria*) in all that Kingdom. There was an Ancient Castle there, of great Strength. The *Greeks* made a large Moat or Trench round about it, into which they threw great Quantities of Nails, and Iron Spikes, to make it more difficult for the *Muslemans* to pass. *Amrou* with four thousand Men laid hard Siege to it; but when he had been there about seven Months, and could do nothing, he was forced to send to the *Caliph* for fresh Supplies; who, as soon as might be, recruited him with four thousand more. The Præfect or Lieutenant of *Misrab*, that held it for the Emperor *Heraclius*, was one *Mokaukas*, of the Sect of the *Jacobites*, and a mortal Enemy to the *Greeks*. He had no design at all to serve the Emperor, but to provide for himself; having behaved himself so ill, that he durst not come into the Emperor's Presence. For when *Cosroës*, the *Persian*, had besieged *Constantinople*, *Mokaukas* perceiving the Emperor in Distress, and daily expecting his Ruin, thought he had a fair Opportunity of-

Omar.

offered of making his Fortune, and took all the Tribute of *Ægypt* into his own Hand, without giving Account to the Emperor of one Penny. From that time, being conscious to himself of his Deserts, he used all the means he could to prejudice and hinder the Emperor; so natural is it for Men to hate those whom they have injured. I shall not interrupt the smooth Course of History with examining how far this Account agrees with the *Greek* Historians; but only say, that my Author, *Eutychius*, was himself Patriarch of *Alexandria*: *Mokaukas* his chief Care was not to defend the Castle in good earnest, but to surrender it so as to procure good Terms for himself, and secure that vast Treasure which he had so ill gotten, whatever became of all the *Greeks* and the Orthodox Christians, whom he mortally hated. There was in the River, between the besieged Castle and the opposite Bank, a little Island: *Mokaukas* perswades the *Greeks* to go with him out of the Castle into that Island: telling them, *That since Amrou had fresh Supplies sent him, it would be impossible for them to defend the Castle much longer; and that if they went into that Island, the River would be a much better Security for them, than the Castle.* This he did on purpose to leave the Castle naked, that the *Saracens* might take it the more easily, and upon
that

that account grant him the better Terms. At last he prevailed, and they went out of the South-Gate, and going aboard some little Vessels which they had there, they quickly landed in the Island, having left only a few *Greeks* to defend the Castle, for all the *Cophties* went out with *Mokaukas*. The *Nile* then began to overflow. Then *Mokaukas* sent Messengers to *Amrou* with Orders to this Effect; “You *Arabi-*
“*ans* have invaded our Country, and given us a
“great deal of Trouble and Disturbance, without any Provocation on our Side: And now
“assure yourselves, that the *Nile* will quickly
“surround your Camp, and you will all fall
“into our Hands. However, send some body
“to treat with us, and let us know your
“Business, and what you demand; perhaps
“when we come to talk about the Matter,
“Things may be so settled, as both Parties
“may be made easy, and a Peace concluded.”
Mokaukas his Messengers had no sooner delivered their Errand, but *Amrou* dispatched *Abadab Ebno’l Samef*, a Black, with Orders to go to *Mokaukas* with the Messengers, and tell him his Mind. *Abadab* coming into *Mokaukas* his Presence, he bad him sit down, and asked him what they (meaning the *Arabs*) meant, and what they would have. *Abadab* gave him the same Answer as the *Saracens* always used to do
to

Omar.

to all that asked them that Question; telling him, *That he had three Things to propose to him by the Command of Amrou, who had received the same Order from his Master Omar the Caliph; viz. That they should either change their Religion, and become Mahometans, and so have a Right and Title to all Privileges in common with them; Or else pay perpetual Tribute Yearly, and so come under their Protection; Or else they must fight it out till the Sword decided the Controversy between them.* These, as we have observed before, were the Conditions which they proposed to all People where they came: The propagating their Religion being to them a just Occasion of making War upon any Nation whatsoever. To these hard Terms *Mokaukas* made Answer, *That as to the first of them they would never submit; but he and his Friends the Cophties would willingly pay Tribute.* The *Greeks* obstinately refused to become Tributaries, and were resolved to fight it out to the last: but *Mokaukas* cared not what became of them, so he might save himself and his Money. *Abadab* having finished this Business, returned from the Castle to the Camp; and when he had acquainted *Amrou* with all that had passed, and that there were only a few *Greeks* in the Castle; the *Saracens* renewed their Assault, and *Zobair* scaled the Walls, and cried out, *Allah Acbar:*

Acbar. The *Greeks* perceiving that the Castle was lost, went into their Boats as fast as they could, and escaped to the Island. The *Saracens*, possessed of the Castle, killed and took Prisoners those few that remained. The *Greeks* now plainly understanding *Mokaukas* his Fraud, durst trust themselves no longer so near him, but going aboard their Ships, got to Shore, and marched to *Keram'l Shoraik*, a place between *Cairo* and *Alexandria*, and put themselves into as good a Posture of Defence as they could. In the mean time *Mokaukas* discoursed with *Amrou* about the Conditions of Peace; which were, *That all the Cophties which lived both above and below Cairo shall pay yearly two Ducats, without any Difference or Distinction to be made between Rich or Poor; only Boys under sixteen Years of Age, decrepit old Men, and all Women, were exempted from paying any thing.* The Number of the *Cophties* which were then polled, was six Millions; according to which Account, the yearly Tribute of *Cair*, and the neighbouring Territory, amounted to twelve Millions of Ducats. *Mokaukas* begged of *Amrou*, that he might be always reckoned among the *Cophties*, and taxed as they were; declaring, that he desired to have nothing in common with the *Greeks*, for he was none of them, nor of their Religion; but had only for a while dis-

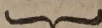
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Omar.

sembled the Matter, for fear of his Life; and intreated him never to make Peace with the *Greeks*, but persecute them to Death; and for his own part, he desired that when he died, he might be buried in St. *John's* Church in *Alexandria*. All this *Amrou* promised to perform, upon Condition that the *Cophties* should be obliged to entertain any *Musleman* whatsoever, who had occasion to pass through the Country, three Days *gratis*, and repair two Bridges which were broken, and prepare Places for the Entertainment of himself and his Army, and take care that the Country People should bring in Provision to be sold in the Camp, and clear the Way from *Cairo* to *Alexandria*, (which he was then going to besiege) building such Bridges as were necessary for the Army to march. These Terms were readily accepted by the *Cophties*, who assisted them with every thing they wanted. *Amrou* marched till he came to *Keramo'l Shoraik*, where the *Greeks* that fled from *Cairo* were. They fought three Days continually, but at last the *Greeks* were forced to give way. They had some other Battles before they came to *Alexandria*, in which the *Saracens* were always superior. Those *Greeks* which escaped, retired to *Alexandria*, where they made the best preparation they could for a Siege.

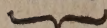
Amrou



Amrou was not long after them, but quickly came up, and laid Siege to the City. However, the *Greeks* made a stout Resistance, and sallied out frequently, so that there was a great many killed on both sides. The *Saracens* at last made a vigorous Attack upon one of the Towers, and entered it ; the *Greeks* all the while defending it to their utmost. They fought a considerable time in the Tower, till the *Saracens* at last were pressed upon so hard, that they were forced to retire. In this Attempt, *Amrou* the General, *Muslemah Ebno'l Mochalled*, and *Werdan*, *Amrou's* Slave, were taken Prisoners. ³ Being brought before the Governour, he asked them what they meant by running about the Country after this manner, and disturbing their Neighbours? *Amrou* answered according to the usual Form, and told him, that they designed to make them either Muslemans or Tributaries before they had done. But this resolute Answer of his had like to have cost him his Life ; for the Governour having taken notice of his Behaviour, concluded that he was no ordinary Person, and spoke to some that stood near him to cut off his Head. *Werdan*, his Slave, understood *Greek*; and as soon as he heard what the Governour said, took his Master *Amrou* by the Collar, and gave

³ The same Story is told with some Variation of Circumstances both by *Elmakîn* and *Alwákidi*.

Omar.



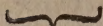
him a Box on the Ear; telling him, *That he was always putting himself forward, and prating, when 'twould better become him to hold his Tongue: That he was a mean contemptible Fellow, and that he would advise him to learn more Manners, and let his Betters speak before him.* By this time, *Muslemah Ebno'l Mochalled* had bethought himself, and told the Governour, *That their General had Thoughts of raising the Siege: That Omar the Caliph had wrote to him touching that Matter; and designed to send an honourable Embassy, consisting of several worthy Persons, and Men of Note, to treat with him about Matters; and if he pleased to let them go, they would acquaint their General how courteously they had been used, and employ the utmost of their Endeavours to promote an Accommodation.* He added, *That he did not in the least question, but when the Caliph's Embassadors had treated with him, things would be made very easy on both Sides, and the Siege speedily raised.* Our Historian tells us, that this impolitic Governour observing how *Werdan* treated his Master, concluded him to have been as mean as *Werdan* represented him, and believed the Story that *Muslemah* had told him, concerning Omar's sending some of the chief *Arabs* to treat with him. Wherefore, considering that it would be of greater Consequence to kill six or ten considerable

able

able Men, than three or four of the vulgar ; he dismissed these, in hopes of catching the other. They were no sooner out of Danger, but they shouted out a loud as they could, *Allâh Acbar* : And when the *Greeks* upon the Wall perceived those great Tokens of Joy, which were shewn in the Camp upon their Return, they knew very well, that they were not such Persons as the Governour had taken them for, and too late repented their letting them go. Quickly after, the *Saracens* renewed their Assault, and so streightned the *Alexandrians*, that they were not able to hold out any longer. At last the City was taken, and the *Greeks* which were in it, were dispersed ; some considerable Parties of them going up further into the Country, others getting off to Sea ; so that the *Saracens* entered, and took Possession, after they had besieged it fourteen Months, and lost twenty-three thousand Men before it.

Amrou, to make all things secure, and prevent any Alarm or Disturbance which might follow ; thought it proper to secure those *Greeks*, which, escaping from the Siege of *Alexandria*, had gone further up into the Country ; reasonably concluding, that so long as there was any Body of them in Arms, the *Saracens* could not enjoy their new Possessions in Peace and Secu-

Omar.



rity. He therefore marches out of *Alexandria* upon this Design, leaving but a few of his *Saracens* behind him in the Town, as apprehending no Danger on that side. During his Absence, the *Greeks* who had gone aboard their Ships at the taking the Town, and whose Return was not in the least feared or suspected; came on a sudden, and surprized the Town, and killed all the *Saracens* that were in it. This quickly came to *Amrou's* Ear; upon which he returned to *Alexandria* with the greatest Speed; where he found the Remnant of the *Greeks* which came back from Sea, already possessed of the Castle. They gave him a warm Reception, and fought bravely: At last, being over-powered, as many of them as could get fairly off, were obliged to retire to their Ships, and try their Fortune at Sea once more, leaving *Amrou* and his *Saracens* in full and quiet Possession. This done, *Amrou* acquaints the *Caliph* with his Success; letting him know withal, that the *Muslemans* were desirous of plundering the City. *Omar* having received his Letter, gave him Thanks for his Service; but blamed him for so much as once mentioning the plundering of so rich a City; and charged him strictly, that he should by no means suffer the Soldiers to make any Waste, or spoil any thing in it; but that he should carefully treasure up what was valuable,

able, to help him to defray Charges in the time of War: And that the Tribute which was raised in that Part of the Country should be laid up at *Alexandria*, to supply the Necessities of the *Muslemans*.

Then they polled the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*; which being taken, all *Ægypt* followed the Fortune of its *Metropolis*, and the Inhabitants compounded for their Lives, Fortunes, and free Liberty of living in the Profession of their own Religion, at the Expence of two Ducats a Year, without any Distinction; except any Man held any Land, Farm or Vineyard. For in such Cases, every one paid proportionably to the yearly Value of what he held. So that there arose a most prodigious Revenue to the *Caliph*. After the *Saracens* were once arrived to this pitch, it is no wonder if they went further; for what would not such a Revenue do in such Hands? They knew very well how to husband their Money, being sumptuous at that time in nothing but their Places of publick Worship. Their Diet was plain and simple: No Wine, nor any of those Dainties, the Products of modern Luxury, which spoil the Stomach, and destroy Mens Constitutions, appeared upon their Tables. Their chief Drink was Water; their Food consisted in a great measure in Milk, Rice, and the Fruits of the Earth.

Omar.

The *Arabians* had as yet applied themselves to no manner of Learning, nor the Study of any thing but Poetry in their own Language, which they understood very well, after their way, and valued themselves upon, long before *Mahomet's* time, being altogether ignorant of the Sciences, and every Language but their own. *Amrou* however, though no Scholar, was a Man of quick Parts, and a good Capacity, and one that, when his Affairs would give him leave, was more delighted with the Conversation of learned Men, and Rational and Philosophical Discourses, than Men of his Education commonly used to be. 'There was at that time in *Alexandria*, one *John*, surnamed, *The Grammarian*; a Man eminent for Learning; with whose Conversation *Amrou* was very well pleased, and would oftentimes take delight in hearing him discourse in several Sciences, and ask him Questions: This Man perceiving the great Respect shown him by *Amrou*, ventured one Day to petition him for the Books in the *Alexandrian Library*; telling him, *That he perceived he had taken an Account of all Things which he thought valuable in the City, and sealed up all the Repositories and Treasuries, but had taken no notice of the Books. That, if they would have been any way useful to him, he would not have been so bold as to*

¶ *Abu'lpharagius.*

ask

ask for them; but since they were not, he desired he might have them. Amrou told him, That he had desired a thing which was altogether out of his Power to grant; and that he could by no means dispose of the Books, without having first asked leave of the Caliph: However, he said, he'd write, and see what might be done in it. This he accordingly performed, and having given a due Character of the Abilities of this learned Man, and acquainted him with his Petition; the Caliph returned this Answer, *What is contained in these Books you mention, is either agreeable to what is written in the Book of God* (meaning the *Alcoran*) *or it is not: If it be, then the Alcoran is sufficient without them: If otherwise, 'tis fit they should be destroyed.* Amrou, in Obedience to the Caliph's Command, distributed the Books throughout all the City, amongst those that kept warm Baths, (of which there was at that time in *Alexandria* no fewer than four thousand) to heat the Baths with. And notwithstanding the great Havock that must needs be made of them at this rate; the Number of Books which the Diligence of former Princes had collected was so great, that it was six Months before they were consumed. A Loss never to be made up to the learned World. This *John, the Grammarian*, was an *Alexandrian* by Birth, of the Sect of the *Jacobites*; Afterwards he denied the Trinity.

Being

Omar.

Being admonished by the Bishops of *Ægypt* to renounce his erroneous Opinions, he was, upon his Refusal, excommunicated.

Amrou being now possessed of *Ægypt*, began to look a little further towards the *Western* part of *Africa*; and in a short time made himself Master of all that Country which lies between *Barcab* and *Zeweilah*; the Inhabitants of *Barcab* bringing in the Tribute imposed upon them punctually at the time prefixed, without any Collectors going among them to gather it. While these Things were doing in *Ægypt*, there was a Dearth in *Arabia*; so that the Inhabitants of *Medinah* and the neighbouring Country, were reduced to a starving Condition. Upon which *Omar* wrote to *Amrou*, and acquainting him with their Extremity, ordered him to supply the *Arabs* with Corn out of *Ægypt*. Which *Amrou* did in such Plenty, that the Train of Camels which were loaden with it, reached in a continued Line from *Ægypt* to *Medinah*; so that when the foremost of them were got to *Medinah*, the latter part of the Gang were still in the Bounds of *Ægypt*. But this way of conveying their Provision being too tedious and chargeable, the *Caliph* commanded *Amrou* to dig a Passage from the the *Nile* to the *Red Sea*, for the more speedy and easy Conveyance of their Provision to the *Arabian Shore*. Shortly after

after *Amrou* took *Tripoli* : And if we should consider the Greatness of his Success, it might seem wonderful, though there had been nothing done in any other Part. But their victorious Arms made no less Progress *Eastward*, and the *Mahometan* Crescent began now to shed its malignant Influence upon as large and considerable Dominions, as had ever been flown over by the *Roman* Eagle. ³About this time, *Aderbijân*, *Ainwerdah*, *Harrân*, *Roha*, *Rakkah*, *Nisibin*, *Ebwâz*, *Siwâs*, and *Ghorâsan*, were all brought under Subjection to the *Saracens*; in which Conquests there were, without doubt, a great many noble Actions performed, and well worth the relating; but the particular History of that part of their Conquests not being yet come into my Hands, the Reader is desired to excuse me.

About two Years after, *Omar* the *Caliph* was killed. The Account we have of it is this: There was one *Phirouz*, a *Persian*, of the Sect of the *Magi*, or *Persees*; who having, as being of a different Religion from the *Muslemans*, a Tribute of two Pieces of Silver imposed upon him daily by his Master, made his Complaint to *Omar*, to have some part of it remitted. *Omar* told him, he did not think it at all unreasonable, considering he might well afford it out of what he earned. *Phirouz* was so provoked with this

³ *Hegirah* 21. A. D. 64½.

Omar.

Answer, that he did as good as threaten the *Caliph* to his Face; but he took little notice of it. Not long after, he waited his Opportunity; and whilst *Omar* was saying the Morning Prayer in the Mosque, he stabbed him thrice in the Belly with a Dagger. ⁴The *Saracens* in the Mosque immediately rushing upon him, he made a desperate Defence, and stabbed thirteen of them, of which seven died. At last, one that stood by, threw his Vest over him, and seized him: He perceiving himself caught, stabbed himself. *Omar* lived three Days after it, and then died, in the Month *Du'lhagjah*, in the twenty third Year of the *Hegirah*; (which Year began on the eighteenth Day of November, in the Year of our Lord six hundred and forty three.⁵) after he had reigned ten Years, six Months, and eight Days, and was sixty three Years old; which is the same Age, at which, according to some ⁶Authors, *Mahomet*, *Abubeker*, and *Ayesha*, *Mahomet's* Wife died.

He was of a dark Complexion, very tall, and had a bald head. As to his Behaviour in the Government, the *Arabick* Authors give him an extraordinary Character. His Abstinence from the Things of this Life, Piety and Gravity of

⁴ *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbih*. MS. Arab. Huntington Num. 554.

⁵ A. D. 643.

⁶ History of the Holy Land, MS. Arab. Poc. Num. 1362.

Behaviour, procured him more Reverence, than his Successors could command by their Grandeur. His Walking-Stick (says⁷ *Alwákidi*) struck more Terror into those that were present, than another Man's Sword. His Diet was Barley-Bread ; his Sauce, Salt ; and oftentimes by way of Abstinence and Mortification, he eat his Bread without Salt. His Drink was Water. He was a constant Observer of religious Duties ; and in those ten Years he reigned, went nine times on Pilgrimage to *Medinah*. His Administration of *Justice* was very impartial, his Ears being always open to the Complaints of the Meanest ; nor could the Greatness of any Offender exempt him from Punishment. In his Decisions he always kept punctually to the Sense of the *Alcoran*, and the Traditions of *Mahomet* ; in whose Time he gave a signal Proof of the Sense he had of the Duty of Inferiors to their Governours, which was occasioned thus.

⁸ An obstinate Musleman had a Suit at Law with a *Jew* before *Mahomet*. The *Jew* being in the right, *Mahomet* pronounced Sentence against the *Musleman* ; who said, *That he would not be so satisfied, unless Omar, who was then only a private Man, had the rehearing and examining the Cause*. The Plaintiff and Defendant went both together to *Omar* ; whom they

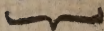
⁷ *Alwákidi*.

⁸ *D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale*,

Omar.

found at his own Door and opening their Case, and acquainting him with the decision of it, desired him to examine it again. *Omar* going into his own House, bad them stay a Moment, and told them he would dispatch their Business in a trice. Coming back, he brings his Cymiter along with him, and at one single Stroke cuts off the *Musleman's* Head, that refused to be determined by *Mahomet's* Decision; saying, with a loud Voice, *See what they deserve, who will not acquiesce in the Determination of their Judges.* It was upon this Occasion that *Mahomet*, informed of the Fact, gave him the Title or Surname of *Farouk*; intimating, that *Omar* knew as well how to distinguish Truth from Falshood, and Justice from Injustice, as he did to separate the Head of that Knave from his Body.

The Conquests gained by the *Saracens* in his Reign were so considerable, that though they had never been extended any further, the Countries they had subdued would have made a very formidable Empire. He drove all the *Jews* and *Christians* out of *Arabia*; subdued *Syria*, *Ægypt*, and other Territories in *Africa*; besides the greatest part of *Persia*. And yet all this Greatness, which would have been too weighty for an ordinary Man to have born, especially if we consider, that it did not descend to them as an hereditary Possession, for the ruling of which they



they had been prepared by a suitable Education, but was gotten all on a sudden by Men that had been acquainted with nothing Great before, had no Effect upon the *Caliph*; but he still retained his old Way of Living: Nor did the Increase of his Riches ever appear by his Retinue or Expences. He built a Wall about *Cusa*, and repaired, or rebuilt rather, the Temples of *Jerusalem* and *Medinah*. He was the first of the *Saracens*, that made Rolls to enter the Names of all that were in military Service, or that received any Stipend from the Publick. He first made use of the Date of the *Hegirah*; concerning which the Reader may see more in the *Life of Mahomet*, which I shall not here transcribe. He was the first of them that forbade that any Woman, who had ever born a Child, should be sold for a Slave. The Author of the *History of Jerusalem*, abovementioned, adds, *That if he had nothing else to recommend him besides his Taking Jerusalem, and purging it from Idolatry, even that had been sufficient.*

He never used to save any Money in the Treasury, but divided it every *Friday* at Night amongst his Man, according to their several Necessities. In which Particular, his Practice was preferable to *Abubeker's*; for *Abubeker* used to proportion his Dividends to the Merit of the

• Dr. Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, pag. 76.

Omar.

Persons that were to receive it ; but Omar had regard only to their Necessities ; saying, *That the Things of this World were given us by God for the Relief of our Necessities, and not for the Reward of Virtue ; because the proper Reward of that belonged to another World.*

OTHMAN

OTHMAN EBN AFFAN,

Third Caliph after MAHOMET.

IN the Space of those three Days which *Omar* Othman.
lived, after he had received his mortal
¹ Wound, his Friends came about him, sollicit-
ing him to make his Will, and name a Suc-
cessor. To which he answered, That if *Salem*
were alive, he should approve of none so well
as him. Then they named several to him, but
he still found some Fault or other with all they
proposed. Some recommended *Ali*, upon the
Account of his near Relation to *Mahomet*; be-
sides his Valour and other Qualifications: But
Omar did not think him serious enough for such
a weighty Charge. Then *Othman Ebn Affan*
being named, *Omar* rejected him, as a Person
too much inclined to favour his own Friends
and Relations. When they perceived that it was

¹ *Hegirah* 23. Which Year beginning on the eighteenth
of *November*, in the Year of our Lord 643. The greatest
part of it answers to the Year 644.

Othman.

impossible for them to pitch upon any Person, against whom he would not make an Exception ; they had good Reason to think, that this proceeded from a Desire that his Son should succeed him. But his Son being mentioned to him, he answered, *That it was enough for one in a Family, to have an Account to give of so weighty a Charge, as the Governing the Muslems was.* At last, when they could not persuade him to name a Successor, he appointed six Persons, to whom he allowed three Days time to consult about the Matter, after his Decease. He ordered his Son to be present whilst they debated, but gave him no Liberty of Voting. The six Commissioners were *Othman, Ali, Telbha, Azzobeir, ²Abdo'rrahmân Ebn Auf, and Saed Ebn Abi Wakkâs* ; All which had been the familiar Acquaintance and Companions of *Ma-bomet*. Omar being dead, they met to consult ; and *Abdo'rrahmân* said, *That for his part he would willingly lay aside all Pretensions to it, provided they would agree to chuse one of those that were present.* All of them consented to it but *Ali*, who thought himself injured, because he

² *Abu'lpharagius*, instead of this *Abdo'rrahmân* puts in *Abu Obeidah* ; but I have chosen rather to follow *Eutychius* and *Elmakîn* ; because there are more Authors than one, who say positively that *Abu Obeidah* died of the Plague in *Syria*, in the eighteenth Year of the *Hegirah*.

was not the immediate Successor of *Mahomet*,
 At last he consented too, after *Abdo'rrahmân* had sworn to him, that he would neither vote for, nor favour any Man whatsoever that should offer himself. *Abdo'rrahmân*, upon this, advises with the rest, who inclining to *Othman Ebn Affân*, he was chosen *Caliph*, and inaugurated ³ three Days after *Omar's* Death. *Abu'lpharagius* says, that *Abu Obeidah* (whom he puts in the Room of *Abdo'rrahmân*) came to *Ali*, and asked him, *If he would take the Government upon him, upon Condition that he should be obliged to administer according to what was contained in the Book of God, The Tradition of his Prophet, and the Determination of two Seniors.* *Ali* answered, *That as for the Book of God, and the Tradition of his Prophet, he was contented; but he would not be obliged to be determined by the Constitutions of the Seniors.* The same Terms being offered to *Othman*, he embraced them without Exception, and was immediately chosen *Caliph*.

Being established in the Government, he follows the Example of his Predecessors, and sends his Forces abroad, to enlarge his Dominions.

⁴ There is some Variety in the Accounts of the time of *Othman's* Inauguration. Some say there was but one Day left of the last Month in the twenty-third Year of the *Hegirah*. Others say it was on the twentieth Day of the first Month (*Moharram*) of the twenty-fourth Year.

Othman.

In a short time *Maho'l Basora*, and what remained of the Borders of *Isphabân* and *Raya* was taken; so that the poor *Persian* King was now eaten up on all Sides, and had very little left him. The same Year that *Othman* was made *Caliph*, *Birab* and *Hamden* were taken, and *Moawiyah*, who was then Prefect of *Syria*, and afterwards *Caliph*, invaded the Territories of the *Grecian* Emperor, took a great many Towns, and wasted the Country.

We have observed before, that *Othman* was taken notice of, for being too much inclined to favour his Friends; Upon which Account *Omar* judged him unworthy to succeed him: Which Inclination now appeared plainly, when he had got the Government into his Hands, and was in a Capacity of obliging them. For notwithstanding *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* had done the *Saracens* such singular Service, and added *Ægypt* to their Empire, yet *Othman* ¹ deposed him, and took away his Præfecture, or Lieutenantcy of *Ægypt*, from him, without any just Reason at all that ever I could learn; but only because he had a mind to prefer *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd*, his Foster-Brother, to a Place of such Dignity and Profit: Than which, there could scarce be a greater Imprudence; for *Amrou*, having been a considerable time in *Ægypt*, had made both the

¹ A. H. 25. Oct. 27. A D. 645.

Persons and the Customs of the *Ægyptians* familiar to him, and was very well beloved by them: Upon which Account, and his admirable Skill in military Affairs, he was, without doubt, the fittest Man for such a Charge, that the *Saracens* had. However, the Order of the *Caliph* must be obeyed; but it was not attended with very good Success. For *Constantine*, the *Grecian* Emperor, sent one *Manuel*, an Eunuch, with an Army, to retake *Alexandria*; which was accordingly performed by the Assistance of the *Greeks* in the City; who keeping secret Correspondence with the Emperor's Army, then at Sea, received them at their landing; and *Alexandria*, which *Amrou* had taken four Years before, was now once more in the Hands of the *Grecian* Emperor. And now it was evidently seen of what Use *Amrou* was in *Ægypt*. He was immediately restored to his former Dignity; for the *Ægyptians*, conscious to themselves of dealing treacherously with the Emperor, fearing, lest falling into the Hands of the *Grecians*, they should be punished according to their Deserts, humbly petitioned the *Caliph*, that they might have their old General *Amrou* restored, both upon the account of his being well acquainted with the State of that Kingdom, and his Experience in War. This was no sooner asked, than granted; the Exigency of Affairs indispensably

Othman. requiring it. *Amrou* being now in full Power, goes against *Alexandria* with his Army, in which were a great many *Cophties*, and among them the Traitor *Mokaukas*, whose Business it was to provide things necessary for the Army in their March. *Amrou* being come before *Alexandria*, found the *Greeks* in a good Posture of Defence. They gave him Battle several Days together, and held out bravely. The Obstinacy of their Defence provoked him so, that he swore, *If God gave him the Victory, he would pull down the Walls of the Town, and make it as easy of Access as a Bawdy-house.* He was as good as his Word; for when he had taken the Town, which was not long after, he demolished all the Walls and Fortifications, and entirely dismantled it. However, he dealt very mercifully with the Inhabitants, and saved as many of their Lives as he could. And built a *Mosque* in that very Place, where he stayed the Fury of the *Saracens*, who were killing all they met; which *Mosque* was upon that Account called, ² *The Mosque of Mercy.* *Manuel*, the *Grecian* Emperor's General, being quite routed, retired, with so many of his Men as he could carry off, to the Sea-shore: where weighing Anchor with all possible speed, they hoisted Sail, and returned to *Constantinople*. From that time, that most flourishing City, once the *Metropolis*

² *Arab. Jâmi'orrahmati.*

of *Ægypt*, dwindled away and declined a-pace; so that there is little belonging to it that is worth taking notice of, only a good Haven, and some Merchants Store-houses. Othman.

³ About this time, *Moarwiyah* invaded *Cyprus*, and agreed with the Inhabitants upon this Condition, That he should share the Revenues of that Island with the *Grecian* Emperor. So that the *Cyprians* were obliged to pay seven thousand and two hundred Ducats every Year to *Moarwiyah*, and the like Sum to the Emperor. The *Mahometans* enjoyed this Tribute near two Years, and were then dispossessed by the Christians.

The same Year that *Moarwiyah* agreed with the *Cyprians*, *Othman* sent *Abdo'llah Ebn Amir* and *Saïd Ebno'l Aâs* to invade *Chorâsan*; and, to encourage their Diligence, told them, *That which of them soever got thither first, should have the Prefecture of that Territory.* They took a great many strong Places, and so streightened *Yazdejerd*, the *Persian* King, that he was now so far from being able to meet the *Saracens* in open Field, that he was forced to shift about every way to save himself. And lest any Misfortune should be wanting to compleat his Ruin, he was at last betrayed by a treacherous Servant; an Unhappininess which frequently happens to Princes in Distress: For those who have any

³ *Hegirah* 27. Octob. 6. A. D. 647.

Othman.

private Pique against them, take the Opportunity offered by their Misfortunes of being revenged : Others, hoping to ingratiate themselves with the conquering Party, stick to do nothing that will oblige them, though to the utter Ruin of their former Masters.

For *Yazdejerd*, distressed on every Side, called in *Tarchân*, the *Turk*, to his Assistance, who came accordingly with an Army. But their Stay was short, for *Yazdejerd*, upon a frivolous Account, affronted *Tarchân*, and sent him back again: Imprudently done in those desperate Circumstances. He had acted a much wiser Part, in putting up a great many little Affronts, rather than send away those Allies, which he could not subsist without. *Mabwa*, a Person of Note, who had a spite against his Master *Yazdejerd*, takes the Advantage of the *Turk's* Indignation, who highly resented the Affront, and sends to *Tarchân*, telling him, *That if he would come back and revenge the Affront, he would not be wanting to his Assistance.* Upon this *Tarchân* returns ; *Yazdejerd* meets him with the best Preparation he could make ; but was beaten. In his Flight, the Traytor *Mabwa* sets upon him, and quite destroys and disperses the shattered Remains of his Army which had escaped. *Yazdejerd* got off himself, and coming to a Mill, proffered the Miller his Belt, his Bracelets, and his

his Ring: But this churlish Brute, not considering the Worth of the Things which were offered him, much less the Compassion which Humanity obliges us to show to all in Distress, especially our Princes, told him, *That he earned four Pieces of Silver with his Mill every Day, and if he would give him so much Money, he would let it stand still upon his Account: If not, he would not.* Whilst they were debating this Matter, a Party of Horse, which were in search of him, happened to come to this Place, where they found him, and killed him. He was the last King of the *Persians*; and at the Beginning of his Reign, the *Persian Æra*, or Date, which they use to this Day, begins; which is from him called *Yazdejerdica*. Thus the *Persian* Government was entirely destroyed, and all the Territories belonging to it fell into the Hands of the *Caliph's* in the Thirty first Year of the *Hegirah*, which began on the Twenty third Day of *August*, in the Year of our Lord 651.

OTHMAN, though a religious Man in his Way, and of a good Disposition, was nevertheless very unfit for Government; for he did a great many very impolitick Things, which alienated the Minds of his Subjects from him, and gave Occasion to his Enemies both to open their Mouths and take up Arms against him. The

* *Hegirah* 31, Aug. 23, A.D. 651.

Othman.

first that we hear of, who began to make a Stir, and talk publickly against the *Caliph*, was one *Abúdar Alacádi*, who, in the 31st Year of the *Hegirah*, openly railed at him, and made it his Business to defame him. *Othman* took no other notice of it, than only to forbid him coming into his Presence. Upon this, *Abúdar* goes into *Syria*, where he continued detracting from the *Caliph*, and aggravating every Thing that might be objected against him. *Moawiyah*, at that time Lieutenant of *Syria*, wrote to *Othman*; who thereupon sent for *Abúdar* to *Medinah*,^{*} and put him into Prison; in which he continued till his Death, which was but the Year after.

But this was only the Beginning of Troubles to the *Caliph*; for the *Saracens* grew every Day worse than other. Factious and uneasy Spirits, when once they begin to disturb any Government, never rest till they be either entirely crushed themselves, or else obtain their Ends.

^{*} *Arab. Faráddaho'l Muréidab.* The Difficulty lies in the word *Muréidab*: *Erpenius* in his Translation of *Elmakîn* makes a proper Name of it; and so it must be read thus; *And sent him to Almureidah*. But I very much doubt it; for I find no such Place in the Dominions of the *Saracens*. I rather chuse to read it, *Mérbadah* from *Rábada*, which signifies, *to bind*; or *restrain*; from whence *Mérbadah* will signify the Place of Restraint; *i. e.* a Prison. This seems to me to be most agreeable to the Sense of the Author, and I take the Liberty to recede from the common Reading, the rather because *Erpenius* followed a very faulty Copy.

The

The murmuring encreased daily, and almost every Province in the Empire had something or other to complain of, peculiar to it self, besides those Grievances which were common to them all; so that in the ² five and thirtieth Year of the *Hegirah*, all Things were in a Flame. Every Man's Mouth was full of grievous Accusations against the *Caliph*, and Complaints of his Male-Administration. Those Things which they principally laid to his Charge, were; " That he had recalled *Hbakem Ebno'l Aâs* to *Medinah*, who had been banished by " the Prophet, and had not been recalled by " either of his Predecessors, *Abubeker* or *Omar*. " That he removed *Saïd Ebn Abi Wakkâs* one " of those six to whom *Omar* had committed " the Election of a *Caliph* from his Prefecture, " and put in another Man of scandalous Conversation, a Drinker of Wine, and notorious for " other Debaucheries. That he had been too " lavish of the Publick Treasure to his Friends, " and had given *Abdo'llah* four hundred thousand Ducats and *Hbakem* one hundred thousand. That he had removed *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* " from the Lieutenancy of *Ægypt*, and put *Saïd Ebn Abi Shârebb* into his Place." This *Saïd* had been one of those that had helped to write the *Alcoran*, and afterwards apostatiz'd and left

² *Hegirah* 35. July 10. 655.

Othman.

the Profession of *Mahometanism*: Whereupon *Mahomet* resolved to kill him when he took *Meccah*, which was in the eighth Year of the *Hegirah*; but at *Othman's* Intreaty, spared his Life, and was content to banish him. “That
 “when he was first made *Caliph*, he presumed
 “to sit upon the uppermost part of the *Sug-*
 “*gestum* or Pulpit, where *Mahomet* himself used
 “to sit; whereas *Abubeker* always sat one Step
 “lower, and *Omar* two.” These and a great
 many other things made the People murmur at
 him. At last, in a publick Assembly, he told
 them from the Pulpit, “That the Money which
 “was in the Treasury was sacred, and belong-
 “ed to God; and that he [as being the Succes-
 “sor of the Prophet] would dispose of it to
 “whomsoever he thought fit, in spite of them;
 “and threatened and cursed whosoever should
 “show any Dislike of what he had said.” *Am-*
mâr Ebn Yâser declared that he disliked it. Up-
 on which *Othman* commanded him to be beaten,
 and immediately some that stood by, fell upon
 him, and beat him till he swooned. This sort
 of Treatment so incensed the *Arabs*, that they
 gathered together, took Arms, and encamped
 within a League of *Medinah*. From their Camp
 they sent an insolent Message to the *Caliph*, de-
 manding of him, either to do that which was
 right and just, (*i. e.* what they thought so) or
 or

or else resign the Government. The poor *Caliph* would now have done any thing with all his Heart, to have been at quiet. But this is observable, that the Risings of seditious Subjects are not to be laid by complying with their Demands, for the more is granted by the Prince in such Circumstances, the more they crave. He goes into the Pulpit which was in the *Mosque* at *Medinah*, and there solemnly before the whole Congregation, calls God to witness, that he was heartily sorry for what was past, and that he repented. But all to no purpose ; for by this time all the Provinces were in an uproar, and the Strength of the Rebels encreased daily. There were few Provinces but what sent some considerable Men, who met together at *Medinah*, to depose *Othman* : *Malec Alashtar* brought two hundred Men with him from *Cusa* ; there came one hundred and fifty from *Basora* ; six hundred from *Ægypt*, all upon this Occasion. The *Caliph* being now in great Perplexity, sent *Mogehirah Ebn Shabah*, and *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs*, to treat with the Malecontents, and endeavour to persuade them to be determined by the *Alcoran* and the *Sunnèt* ; that is, the Traditions of *Mahomet* ; but they had very little Thanks for their Pains, for the Rebels used them scurvily. Then he sent *Ali* to them, (who ever since the Death of *Mahomet* had expected to be *Caliph*, and had a

very

Othman. very considerable Party) him they received with more Reverence, and he bound himself to see that all that *Othman* promised them should be performed ; and to make them the more easy, *Othman* and *Ali* set both their Hands to a Paper, in which they promised to remove the Causes of their Grievances. Then the *Ægyptians* demanded to have *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd* removed from the Lieutenancy of *Ægypt*, and *Mahammed*, the Son of *Abubeker*, put in his Room : Which *Othman* readily complied with, and signed his Commission. This Condescension of the *Caliph*, seemingly satisfied them pretty well ; so that the Parties were dissolved, and every Man returned to his own Country. The Storm seemed to be blown over, and any Man would have thought that the *Caliph* had no reason to doubt of going to the Grave in Peace. But what will not Treachery do ? There was nothing omitted by the *Caliph's* Enemies, which might foment these Prejudices in the People, that they had already conceived against him. *Ayesha*, *Mahomet's* Widow, was his mortal Enemy. Certainly it would much better have become one that pretended to have been the Wife of an inspired Prophet, to have spent the Days of her Widowhood in Devotion and good Works, rather than in doing Mischief, and embroiling the State. But she was so prejudiced in Favour of *Telba*
the

the Son of *Zobeir*, whom she would fain have raised to the Dignity of *Caliph*, that no Consideration of Goodness or Decency could hinder her from designing the Death of *Othman*. Another of his greatest Enemies was *Mahomet*, *Abubeker*'s Son, the same whom the *Ægyptians* had desired for their Prefect. But none did him more harm than *Merwân Ebnô'l Hbakem*, his Secretary, who may justly be looked upon as the principal Cause of his Ruin, which was occasioned thus.

As the *Ægyptians* which were gathered together to depose *Othman*, were upon their Journey homewards from *Medinah*, with *Mahomet*, the Son of *Abubeker*, their new Lieutenant; they met with a Messenger carrying Letters from the *Caliph* to *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd*, at that time Lieutenant of *Ægypt*. Him upon Examination they detained and opened his Letters; In which they found Orders given to *Abdo'llah* to this Effect. "As soon as *Mahomet*, "the Son of *Abubeker*, and *N. and N. &c.* "shall arrive in *Ægypt*, cut off their Hands "and Feet, and impale them. This Letter had *Othman*'s Seal and Superscription; the whole Business being managed by the Villany of the Secretary *Merwân*, who contrived this Letter himself, (as he had done many others to the *Caliph*'s great Disadvantage) and ordered it so as
it

Othman.

it might fall into the Hands of the *Ægyptians*, on purpose to re-inflame the Difference which had, by the Care of *Ali*, and the Condescension of the *Caliph*, been in a great measure composed. It is no hard matter to guess how *Mabomet*, *Abubeker's* Son, and the *Ægyptians* that were with him, were affected with this Letter. They were stark mad; and no ill Language, no Revenge, was thought sufficient for him, that designed such Cruelty to them. They immediately hasten back to *Medinah*, making large Speeches all the way, of the Treachery and Perfidiousness of the *Caliph*, and how narrowly and accidentally they had escaped so imminent a Danger. Such Stories as this seldom lose any thing in the telling, especially considering that the Wound was but just skinned over, and not healed; there being, besides the Faction at Court, a great many disaffected Persons, who spared not to say the worst of the *Caliph*: The News of the *Ægyptians* returning, flies immediately all over the Country; and how, if they had not accidentally intercepted *Othman's* Letter to *Abdo'llah*, they must have suffered the utmost Cruelty. Upon this, all People unanimously detested the Person of the *Caliph*: And those who had come before from *Cusa* and *Basora*, and had returned upon the Accommodation that was made, were scarce got home,

be-

before alarmed with this News, they came back again to assist the *Ægyptians* in the deposing *Othman*. This Letter, they thought, excused whatsoever they did, and those who did not believe that the *Caliph* wrote it, could make Use of that Pretence to vilify him, in order to gain their End. At last, they besieged him in his own House ; He, in the mean time, professing all manner of Satisfaction that could reasonably be demanded, and declaring his Repentance for what he had done amiss. But all in vain ; they were resolved to be revenged on him ; who indeed had never intended them any Injury. When he perceived himself streightened, he sent to his Cousin *Ali*, and asked him ; “ If he had a Desire to see his Cousin murdered, “ and his own Kingdom rent in Pieces ? ” *Ali* answered, *By no means* : And upon this sent his two Sons, *Hasan* and *Hosein*, to defend him, and keep the Gate, that he might not suffer any Violence. I am verily perswaded, that *Ali* did not mean any Harm to the Caliph ; but, whether it was because he had a Prospect of succeeding him, and upon that account was loath to disoblige the Muslemans ; who, he perceived, were altogether set against *Othman*, or for what other Reason, It is plain, that he did not assist him with that Vigour and Earnestness which might otherwise have been expected. 'Tis true,

Y

he

Othman.

he sent *Hasan* and *Hosein*; but they, when the Besiegers had streightened the *Caliph* for want of Water, left him to their Mercy. Then *Mahomet*, *Abubeker's* Son, and *Ammar Ebn Yaser* with several others, entered the House, where they found the *Caliph* with the *Alcoran* in his Lap. They immediately fell upon him, and one of them wounded him in the Throat with a Dart: A second stabbed him with his Sword. As soon as he fell, another sat upon his Breast, and wounded him in nine Places. ⁵ Thus died *Othman*, the Third after *Mahomet*, when he was eighty two Years old, of which he had reigned near twelve. Authors differ concerning the time of his being besieged in his House; but it seems to have been about six Weeks. He lay unburied for three Days; at last he was removed, (by whose Order I find not) bloody as he was, and buryed in the same Cloaths he was killed in, without so much as being washed, or the least Funeral Solemnity. A remarkable Instance of the Vanity of Human Greatness, and the Uncertainty of all worldly Felicity.

As to his Person, he was very tall, of a good Countenance, dark Complexion, and a large Beard. His way of living was commendable enough for a *Saracen*. He was very constant and diligent in performing religious Exercises;

⁵ *Hegirah* 35. July 10. A.D. 655.

frequent in reading and meditating the *Alcoran*, and fasted very often. His Charity was very extensive, his Riches very great. Though he was very hardly used, yet it must not be denied, that he had given some Occasions for the People to think ill of him ; which a Politick Governour would have avoided : For he was so much inclined to prefer his own Family and Friends, that he scarce ever considered their Merit. From whence this Inconvenience must necessarily follow, that a great many Men would at this rate be put into Places of the greatest Trust, which were no way qualified for the Discharge of their Duty ; and if they did any thing amiss, the *Caliph* who preferred them, was sure to bear a great share in the Reflections which were made. Besides, through the Treachery of that Villain *Merwân*, his Secretary, a great many ill things were laid to his Charge ; which he had no hand in. For it was a common thing with him to set *Othman's* Seal to Letters, which oftentimes contained very scandalous Commands to Governours of Provinces ; by which means the People were kept in an Aversion to him ; and these Disturbances being constantly fomented by his Enemies, they never ceased, till at last they deprived him both of Government and Life.

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(1st)

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